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VOL. XV No. 11

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By GEORGI DIMITROFF

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The United Front Against Fascism

BY GEORGI DIMITROFF

I.

AT THE present time, when the Soviet people, freed from capitalist slavery, celebrate the twenty-first anniversary of the great socialist revolution, which struck a crushing blow against the first imperialist war, millions of persons in the capitalist countries are falling victim to bloody fascist brigandage. The fascist miscreants are driving mankind toward the abyss of a new imperialist war.

Long before the presents events, Comrade Stalin repeatedly warned that the fascist governments were preparing a new imperialist carnage. In January, 1934, from the tribune of the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin declared:

"Again as in 1914 the parties of bellicose imperialism, the parties of war and *revanche* are coming into the foreground.

"Quite clearly things are moving toward a new war." *

Subsequently, on March 1, 1936, in an interview with Roy Howard, Comrade Stalin stated:

"In my opinion there are two seats of war danger. The first is in the Far East, in the zone of Japan. I have in mind the numerous statements made by Japanese military men containing threats against other powers. The second seat is in the zone of Germany. . . . At present the Far Eastern seat of danger reveals the greatest activity. However, the center of this danger may shift to Europe." *

Guided by this Marxist-Leninist analysis, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International characterized the plans of German fascism as follows:

"The adventurist plans of the German fascists are very far-reaching and count on a war of revenge against France, dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, annexation of Austria, destruction of the independence of the Baltic states, which they are striving to convert into a base for attack on the Soviet Union, and the wresting of the Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R. They are demanding colonies and are endeavoring to arouse moods in favor of a world war for a new repartition of the world." **

The entire course of events has shown how correct the Communists were when they sounded the alarm regarding the approaching danger of war and issued a timely call to the working people to resist fascism on the basis of a united people's front.

In 1935, Italy attacked Ethiopia. Fascist Germany in its turn arbitrarily tore up the Versailles Treaty, introduced conscription, militarized the Rhineland and transformed it into a military base from which to strike at France. Then it forcibly occupied Austria, seized the Sudetenland, took possession of all the strategic military positions of Czechoslovakia and achieved its dismemberment

* Joseph Stalin, "Report on Work of the Central Committee," in *Socialism Victorious*, p. 10. International Publishers.

* *The Stalin-Howard Interview*, p. 5, International Publishers, New York.

** *Resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 40, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

in the endeavor to transform Czechoslovakia into its virtual colony.

In the summer of 1936 Germany and Italy, having first provoked a fascist putsch, organized armed intervention against the Spanish republic. For two years Italian airmen and German artillerymen have been reducing Spanish town to ruins, slaughtering Spanish women and children, trampling the soil of the Spanish people, whose only wish is to be masters in their own home.

A no less nefarious war for the conquest of China is being waged by the Japanese fascist militarists in the Far East against the Chinese people fighting for its independence.

"All these facts go to show that the second imperialist war has in fact already begun. It has begun surreptitiously without declaration of war. States and peoples have somehow imperceptibly crept into the orbit of the second imperialist war. War has been begun in different parts of the globe by three aggressive states—the fascist ruling circles of Germany, Italy and Japan. War is being waged over a tremendous expanse from Gibraltar to Shanghai. War has succeeded in drawing more than 500,000,000 poeple into its orbit. In the last analysis, it is being waged against the capitalist interests of Britain, France and the United States, since its object is to secure the repartition of the world and of spheres of influence to the advantage of the aggressive countries and at the expense of these so-called democratic states.

"The distinctive feature of the second imperialist war is, for the time being, that it is being waged and developed by the aggressive powers, while the other powers, the 'democratic' powers against whom in fact the war is directed, pretend that the war is no concern of theirs, wash their hands of it, back out of it, laud their own peaceableness, rail at the fascist aggressors and . . . step by step yield their own position to the aggressors, at the same time asserting they are preparing to resist." (*Short Course of the History of the C.P.S.U.*)

Why has this series of bloody fascist crime become possible? It has become possible because the ruling circles of the so-called democratic states have systematically retreated before the fascist aggressors.

Italian fascism was allowed to attack Ethiopia with impunity. It not only enslaved Ethiopia but also hurled itself upon Spain. German fascism was permitted to militarize the Rhineland without hindrance. It made use of this to fall upon Spain, engulfed Austria and crushed Czechoslovakia. The Japanese pirates were enabled to seize Manchuria and the Northern provinces of China. With growing insolence the Japanese militarists embarked upon a war to conquer the whole of China.

Step by step the countries of "great Western democracy" retreated before the fascist plunderers. Step by step the fascist plunderers strengthened their positions.

Yet the governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries possessed adequate means with which to avert the outbreak of war. They were in a position to curb the fascist aggressors by the joint action of the states, members of the League of Nations, which were interested in maintaining peace. They were in a position to do so by employing Article 16 of the League of Nations Covenant, which provides for collective action against the peace-breakers. They were in a position to do so by applying economic sanctions, which would inevitably have compelled the governments of Germany, Italy and Japan, which do not possess adequate resources of raw materials, to retreat in face of the determination of those who are interested in the maintenance of peace.

Such action to secure the maintenance of peace would have met with the enthusiastic support of all peoples, who want neither the bondage of fascism nor the horrors of war. A powerful movement of the peoples would have been the most effective weapon against the instigators of war.

However, the bourgeois governments did not put the system of collective security into operation. They did not do so because they did not want to. They did not do so because their policy is determined by the reactionary imperialist circles who

—out of fear of the growth of the working class movement in Europe, of the movement for national liberation in Asia, out of hatred for the land of socialism—sacrificed the interests of their own peoples to fascism. They supported German fascism because they want it as a European gendarme who strangles every democratic, anti-fascist movement of the masses of the people. In the name of their narrow class imperialist interests, they yield the small nations to be rent asunder, thereby facilitating the further aggression of the fascist governments.

In order to reach an agreement with German fascism the haughty ringleaders of these imperialist circles not only did not spare the prestige of the "great powers" they represent, but also underwent such personal humiliation at the hands of the fascist dictators as though they were speaking on behalf of countries already defeated in war.

And vain are their endeavors to cover up their terrible responsibility to the peoples by their lying equivocations to the effect that, by bending the knee to the fascist dictators, they were serving the cause of peace, were saving Europe and mankind from the horrors of war.

II.

At all stages at which war was unleashed, only the great Soviet Union pursued a firm policy of peace. Had the other states accepted the proposals of the Soviet government regarding a collective repulse to the aggressor, peace would have been preserved. Millions of people would not have been hurled, as they are now, into the bloody shambles of destruction by war.

During the onslaught against Ethiopia, the Soviet Union, as distinct from other countries, consistently applied the sanctions established by the League of Nations against fascist Italy. From the very beginning of the military intervention against the Spanish republic, the Soviet Union declared for resolute collective action by all countries belonging to the League of Nations against the German and Italian violators. On more than one occasion the Soviet country came out against the policy of so-called non-intervention, which in fact meant the enforcement of a blockade against Republican Spain and has enabled the interventionists to send their troops and military supplies for the annihilation of the Spanish people, and get off scot free. When the Italian pirates began to sink merchant ships in the Mediterranean, the Soviet Union resolutely demanded a halt to the piracy and brought about the conclusion of the well-known Nyons agreement, which was specifically designed for the protection of peaceful mercantile navigation. At the League of Nations Assembly and in the League commissions, in the Non-Intervention Committee and in all other bodies, only the Soviet Union has unreservedly defended the cause of the Spanish people.

At the Brussels conference, summoned in connection with the attack of the Japanese militarists against China, the Soviet Union insisted upon the application of a policy for the collective repulse of the Japanese invaders. The Chinese people know that they have in the Soviet people an unswerving friend which upholds the sovereignty, integrity and independence of China.

When German fascism moved its troops into Austria, the Soviet Union proposed to the governments of the other states that they take joint action against the arbitrary conduct of the fascists.

Everybody knows of the position adopted by the Soviet Union when German fascism was brandishing the knife over Czechoslovakia, when the Polish and Hungarian vultures fastened their teeth into the living body of the Czechoslovak people. In accordance with the agreement concluded with Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union declared before the whole world that it was ready to come to the assistance of Czechoslovakia should the latter be attacked, and would fulfill its obligations as provided for in this treaty. The Soviet government also warned Poland that an attack by it on Czechoslovakia would entail the automatic cancelation of the non-aggression pact between Poland and the Soviet Union.

The whole world knows how the Soviet Union answered the invasion of Soviet territory at Lake Khasan by the Japanese samurai (feudal militarists). By a crushing lightning blow at the Japanese provocateurs, the army of the land of socialism showed how to employ armed force to defend peace.

The Soviet Union pursues its policy in the interests of the genuine defense of peace, in the interests of the working people of all countries. Its peace policy corresponds to the aspirations of all peoples. The Soviet Union is the powerful buttress of the struggle against wars of conquest, the unfailing defender of small nations and weak countries, against fascist aggression and imperialist enslavement. The land of socialism is the staunch bulwark of the liberation struggle of the working people throughout the world, the most important factor in rallying the forces of the international working class and of the anti-fascist people's front.

In its struggle for peace the Soviet Union bases itself on the might of victorious socialism. Every new socialist factory is a new fortress in the struggle of the peoples of all countries against fascism. Every flourishing collective farm is a new blow at the dark forces of reaction. Every success of the socialist country strengthens the power of the working people throughout the world. The culture and science of the Soviet country are placed at the service of mankind. The moral and political unity of the Soviet people increases the great vital force of international solidarity among the working people.

Amid the general confusion and uncertainty as to the morrow which reign in the capitalist world, only the Soviet people look calmly into the future. Steadfastly and confidently the Soviet Union is completing the construction of socialist society and is advancing to communism. Every day brings to the working people of the capitalist world ever new proofs of the correctness of the path being followed by the great Soviet people under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The whole tremendous struggle of the Party of Lenin and Stalin for socialism, for the socialist industrialization of the country, for the collectivization of peasant farming; the struggle against the host of enemies, the rooting out of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite agents of fascism in the U.S.S.R.—all this is increasingly assuming its place in the minds of the international working class as their very own cause, the cause they hold dear.

The whole of working mankind is vitally interested in the all-round consolidation of the Soviet Union, in the resolute strengthening of the contacts between the great Soviet people and the working class and peoples of the capitalist countries. Herein lies the most important guarantee of the succesful struggle for world peace.

III.

It would be a most dangerous delusion at the present time for the laboring masses and the people to believe the false pro-fascist legend that it is peace that has been secured at the price of the predatory dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, that German fascism has by this act of violence completed the fulfilment of its program of aggression in Europe and that the peoples may sleep tranquilly without grievous thoughts about a new war. Only accomplices in the fascist crimes, only deceivers of the peoples or hopeless political blockheads can spread such a legend.

No person in his right senses will deny that it is precisely since the Munich conspiracy that the effrontery of the fascist aggressors has immensely increased. And it could not be otherwise. For German fascism has been presented by the reactionary British and French bourgeoisies with new, exceptionally favorable military-strategic and economic positions for the further development of imperialist war.

Now the question has already passed beyond the bounds of the arbitrary revision of the Versailles Treaty by the fascist states. What is at issue is a new repartition of the globe. What is at issue is not only the redistribution of the existing colonial possessions, but the repartition of Europe itself, the colonization of

a number of European states and the imperialist enslavement of a number of European peoples.

The fascist beasts of prey do not consider it necessary to conceal the course of their plundering endeavors. The map circulated by the fascists after the occupation of the Sudetenland clearly demonstrates the plans of German fascism. It turns out that, according to the schedule outlined in this map, the spring of 1938 was to see settled the fate of Austria; the autumn of 1938 the fate of Czechoslovakia; the spring of 1939 is to see a blow at Hungary; in the autumn of 1939 the object of plunder is to be Poland; preparations are being made for a blow in the spring of 1940 against Jugoslavia; in the autumn of 1940 against Rumania and Bulgaria. In the spring of 1941 France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Switzerland are to be the object of a fascist onslaught; in the autumn of 1941 fascist Germany plans its attack upon the U.S.S.R.

Further we learn from this map that German fascism magnanimously places at the disposal of fascist Italy a large part of Spain, the southern district of France, Greece, a large part of Turkey, Syria, Palestine and North Africa.

It suffices to observe the disruptive work of German and Italian fascism in the British and French possessions to become convinced that the fascists are really working to put these plans into operation.

German fascism is engaged in furious disruptive activity in Alsace-Lorraine. On France's Pyrenees frontier the German fascists are engaged in intensive activity to establish bases for a blow at France. Fascist agents are inflaming separatist movements among the Slovaks and Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia and are conducting disruptive work in Jugoslavia, Rumania and in the Balkans. They are preparing the next blow against Lithuania and the other Baltic states. The Polish fascists, who have flung themselves like jackals on the torn body of Czechoslovakia and are baring their teeth at Lithuania, are themselves, by their policy of plunder, subjecting the independence of Poland to the menace of a blow from the insatiable hand of German fascism.

But the fascist plunderers are reckoning without the host. The peoples have not yet said their decisive word.

Never yet, since the end of the world imperialist war, has the hatred felt for the warmongers been so profound and strong as at the present time. A wave of popular indignation against the vile deeds of fascism is rising in all countries. The movement to repulse the fascist aggressors found clear expression in the days when the plotters in Munich were tearing to pieces and sacrificing to fascism the cultured democratic Czechoslovak republic. Millions of people rose in defense of Czechoslovakia in the most important countries of the world.

In Great Britain for many days without a break great meetings were held to demand the defense of Czechoslovakia. Many of the biggest trade unions, social organizations, representatives of the intellectuals, outstanding public figures came forward with the demand for a collective repulse to the fascist gangsters. They insisted that Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union should unite their forces to aid Czechoslovakia. Very influential British newspapers published tens and hundreds of letters from their readers protesting against the betrayal of Czechoslovakia by the British bourgeoisie. Thousands of such protests were sent to newspaper editors. The executive committee of the Cooperative Party, speaking on behalf of 5,000,000 members, demanded that the British government convene parliament and come to the aid of Czechoslovakia. After the return of the British National Council of Labor delegation from Paris, where a conference was held with the leaders of the French trade unions, several thousand mass meetings took place throughout Great Britain, directed against the policy of bowing and scraping before German fascism. The protest movement grew with each day that passed.

In the United States of America, despite the resistance of the pro-fascist circles which proclaim the policy of so-called isolationism, the movement in support of Czechoslovakia attained particu-

larly large proportions. Representatives of organizations of twenty-one nationalities—Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, Rumanians and others—sent messages to the President of the United States demanding that the Kellogg Pact be fulfilled, and that the system of collective security be put into operation in defense of Czechoslovakia. Similar demands were put forward by representatives of social, trade union and other organizations, and by many outstanding men of science and culture.

In a number of cities in the United States, "Save Czechoslovakia" committees were established. The meetings organized to protest against the new onslaught by fascist Germany attracted enormous numbers of people. In some of the biggest centers of the country, as in Chicago, huge demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of persons took place.

In France a wave of indoor and outdoor meetings and demonstrations against the Munich agreement is sweeping the country. Not only trade union and public organizations, but also authoritative military circles have declared the need for supporting Czechoslovakia.

Even in such countries as, for example, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria and Poland, where a fascist regime exists, the masses of the people found ways and means of expressing their sympathies for Czechoslovakia and of coming forward in its defense against the German onslaught. Thousands of persons expressed their desire to join the Czechoslovak army as volunteers. The Czechoslovak embassies in the European capitals received an enormous number of letters containing expressions of these sentiments.

From distant Australia, representatives of the trade unions addressed the Czechoslovak people with a promise of aid in case of war with Germany.

The popular movement attained particularly large dimensions after the Munich agreement. The masses are increasingly realizing the real meaning of the policy of the ruling cliques, directed toward retreating before fascism. The smokescreen laid down by the pro-fascist circles and their representatives in the ruling spheres—directly assisted by a number of reactionary leaders of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, and designed to convince the people that peace was saved at Munich—is beginning to dissolve rapidly.

IV.

Two basic trends can be observed in international politics.

1. The further conduct of the policy of agreement between Germany and Italian fascism on the one hand, and the imperialist cliques of Great Britain and France on the other; an agreement directed against the vital interests of their own peoples, against the weakly protected nations and countries, against the international labor movement, against democracy, against the great land of socialism.

2. The movement of the working class united front, of the united front of the peoples against this bandit agreement, against fascist aggression, in defense of world peace.

The first trend leads to the partition and enslavement of Spain and China, to the enslavement of independent peoples, to the intensification of colonial slavery, to the further unleashing of imperialist war.

The second trend leads to the victory of the Spanish and Chinese peoples over the fascist plunderers, to the consolidation of the freedom and independence of the small nations, to the curbing of the fascist aggressors and to the guaranteeing of world peace.

There can be no doubt that it is precisely this second trend that corresponds to the interests of the working class and of the peoples of all countries. But for this trend to triumph, it is necessary that reaction at home be curbed in the lands of bourgeois democracy, that the policy of capitulation to the fascist aggressors be stopped; governments are necessary which base themselves on the masses of the people, which take their interests and their wishes into consideration, governments which are ready to fight against the fascist enemy from without.

The most important lesson of the recent events is precisely that *unless the reactionary imperialist cliques and capit-*

ulators in one's own country are curbed, it is impossible to curb the unbridled fascist brigands, it is impossible to conduct a successful struggle in defense of the freedom and independence of the peoples and to defend world peace.

The working class and its Communist vanguard are the most resolute and consistent adherents and champions of peace. But this does not at all imply that they stand for peace at any price, that they stand for handing over their own people and their own country to the fascist vultures "in the interests of peace." He who desires the establishment of real and lasting peace must employ all possible forces and means to fight against the fascist plunderers and enslavers, and resolutely cast aside the capitulators and accomplices of the fascist aggressors, who deceive the people with their false pacifist homilies.

The defense of world peace, the defense of the peoples against armed fascist aggression, cannot be achieved by wordy pacifist declarations and invocations. What is needed is active struggle, determined resistance. The onslaught of armed fascism must be answered by the mailed fist of the peoples.

What basic tasks face the international working class and the working class of all countries in the light of the events taking place? These tasks may be briefly reduced to the following:

To frustrate the policy of the bandit agreement between the fascist aggressors and the imperialist cliques of Britain and France;

To offer resolute resistance in the countries of bourgeois democracy to reaction, which is raising its head and is fighting against the social achievements of the working people, against democratic liberties, against the labor movement;

To insure the victory of the Spanish and Chinese peoples over the fascist vultures;

To protect the Czechoslovak people and the peoples of the small countries against foreign enslavement.

Forces which are quite real exist for the solution of these tasks. All that is necessary is that they be brought into action.

It would be difficult in post-war political history to find another moment when the interests of the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, when the interests of the small nations, of the dependent and colonial countries, when the interests of culture and science, the interests of peace and democracy coincided and merged in a common current against fascism, the worst enemy of mankind, such as the present moment. *This is quite a real foundation for the establishment and consolidation of the united front of the working class and of the peoples of all countries against fascist barbarism and the incendiaries of imperialist war.*

V.

The decisive role in the establishment of a powerful united front against fascist aggression and brigandage belongs to *the international working class.* The entire course of historical development brings the working class forward as the initiator, organizer, leader of the front of resistance by the peoples to the fascist plunderers.

The working class is the most advanced class and the paramount force of modern society. Its vanguard unit has won victory on a sixth part of the earth over the dark forces of capitalism, and has built up a new, socialist society. The international working class is supremely interested in finally smashing the chains of capitalist slavery and exploitation throughout the world. It is the most irreconcilable enemy of reaction and fascism, the most resolute and consistent fighter against all oppression and enslavement of the peoples, against all kinds of wars of plunder.

Constituting the backbone of its people, possessing the enormous advantage of its decisive role in productive life in the country, the advantage of its numbers, of its concentrated and organizing character, the working class is the staunchest bulwark of the freedom and independence of the country.

The working class is the only class in modern society which is armed with the most advanced science, Marxism-Lenin-

ism, with the great teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, which illuminate the path of struggle against the forces of reaction, fascism and war.

All this places a historic responsibility on the working class. If it is to fulfil its role of initiator, organizer and leader of the common front of all the anti-fascist forces of the world, *it must realize its own strength and must be able to make use of this enormous strength to rally together the masses of the working people.* It must become profoundly imbued with the consciousness of the need resolutely to take the lead of the people's movement against fascism.

But for the working class to rally together and consolidate the people's movement against fascism, it must first and foremost *establish unity in its own ranks in the struggle against the common enemy.* The opponents of working class unity, the opponents of the anti-fascist people's front, whoever they may be, whatever the masks behind which they conceal themselves, *must be ruthlessly exposed and driven out as accomplices of reaction at home and of the fascist aggressors.*

At the present exceptionally responsible moment one must not limit oneself to mere propagandizing for working class unity. Today already unity must be established in practice, sweeping aside all obstacles in its path. There are quite a number of people who are not averse to talking about the benefits of unity, but who do nothing to bring it about. It would be naive to think that united action by the working class on a national and international scale is possible without a tireless struggle to bring it about. One must not delude oneself that working class unity can be brought about without a struggle against its opponents in the ranks of the labor movement itself, against the enemies of the land of socialism, against the bearers of bourgeois influence into the ranks of the proletariat, against the Trotskyites and all other sorts of agents of fascism.

The entire international situation imperatively demands that the international working class, despite the existence as yet in its midst of various ideological viewpoints and party-political trends, find *a common language* as soon as possible in the struggle against fascism, and put into operation *a single international policy* barring the way to the fascist plunderers and incendiaries of war and guaranteeing the cause of peace among the peoples.

The fulfilment of the idea which is maturing in the ranks of the labor movement regarding the calling of *an international labor conference* of representatives of the organizations of the working class of all countries would be an exceptionally important practical step on this road. Such a conference is necessary for the defense of Spain, China, the social gains of the working class and democratic liberties, so as to rally together all the forces of the international proletariat against fascism's Munich conspiracy.

There cannot be insurmountable obstacles to the achievement of united action by the international working class movement, which is so necessary.

The fascist aggressors are beating the drums about their "Munich victory." They are making furious preparations for new bandit conspiracies and crimes. They are helped in this by the enemies of the working class and of socialism in the bourgeois-democratic countries. Men of little faith, capitulators, cowards bow their heads before the fascist jackboot.

But the fascists are celebrating prematurely. Their "victory" is a *Pyrrhic victory,* a victory which is fraught with defeat for them. They have engulfed Austria, but 7,000,000 Austrian people hate them. They have seized the Sudetenland, but have roused the wrath of the peoples of Czechoslovakia against themselves to the utmost limits. They have crushed Czechoslovakia, but have roused all the small nations against themselves. They are shedding the blood of the Spanish people, but 20,000,000 Spaniards pronounce the name of the German interventionists with hatred. The fascists, by their effrontery, are rousing the whole world against themselves. By their brigandage they are generating the most profound indignation of advanced mankind. By their conquests they are undermining the ground beneath their own

feet. And the hour of vengeance will come. A united working class together with the genuinely democratic forces of the peoples is in a position to curb the fascist violators and warmongers and, together with their own peoples, to crush fascism.

There are not, nor can there be forces in the world which can turn back the wheel of historical development. The future belongs not to rotten declining capitalism and its poisonous, foul-smelling cesspool—fascism, but to ascending socialism, toward which the eyes of all working people, of the whole of mankind, are turned.

Greetings to the Soviet Union!

EDITOR, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.:

TO THE free and democratic peoples of the Soviet Union!

On the occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics millions of American workers and progressives of every shade of political opinion, together with countless millions of working people throughout the world, devoted to the cause of peace, democracy and social progress, join with you in celebrating the mighty triumphs of socialism achieved by the first workers' and peasants' government under the glorious leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. The American people rejoice in your victories, which symbolize and point the way to the realization of the greatest ideals of social justice, liberty and peace for which all of progressive humanity strives and holds dear.

Today especially the warm friendship of the American people for the great Soviet peoples is deepened and strengthened by the firm, uncompromising struggle for peace which the Soviet Union wages in behalf of the working class and democratic peoples of all countries. Particularly now after the Munich betrayals of Czechoslovakia and world peace by Chamberlain, Daladier and the pro-fascist circles in the other bourgeois-democratic countries who follow a policy of capitulation to and collaboration with the fascist aggressors, the American people recognize as never before that the invincible land of socialism is the most devoted champion and powerful bulwark of world peace, liberty, national freedom and human advancement.

On behalf of the Communist Party and millions of peace-loving Americans I send you ardent greetings and assure you that the American labor and progressive movements will march forward in closer unity, building a mighty democratic people's front against the fascist warmakers and economic royalists, for democracy, security and peace, for renewed aid and solidarity with the heroic peoples of Spain, China, Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia.

Long live the Soviet Union and the beloved leader of the working people of all countries, Comrade Stalin!

Long live international solidarity and the Communist International, the leader and organizer of working class unity and the united people's front against fascism, reaction and war!

Long live the friendship and collaboration of the people of the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. for peace, democracy and human progress!

EARL BROWDER,
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The 21st Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

MANIFESTO OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, ISSUED ON NOVEMBER 7, 1938

PROLETARIANS and working people of all lands!

Today the Soviet people mark the twenty-first year of their great socialist revolution, of their heroic struggle, of their world historic victories.

At the time when the peoples of the Soviet republic are completing the construction of classless socialist society and are advancing full of confidence towards communism, the capitalist world in in the throes of an ominous war fever.

The second imperialist war, a robber war for a new repartition of the earth, has in fact already begun. It is already raging in various corners of the globe. In Spain and in China the fascist butchers are doing their abominable work. Over 500,000,000 human beings have been hurled into the abyss of bloody destruction. War threatens to spread to new territories and so involve new peoples. Hundreds of millions of people are menaced with attack by the fascist beasts of prey.

Never yet, as during these days of fascist brigandage, have the masses of the people of the capitalist countries had such a strong and profound feeling of their blood-bond with the great land of socialism. The peoples see in the U.S.S.R. the bulwark of their struggle for liberty and independence, the embodiment of their age-old aspirations. They see that the Soviet people, thanks to the proletarian dictatorship, have withstood a host of enemies, have maintained and consolidated their independence, have built socialism.

Towering aloft like a rock of granite before millions of people in the capitalist world, which is in the grip of confusion and disintegration and is on the threshold of a new economic crisis, is the land of victorious socialism. Conscious of its strength, the Soviet land pursues its path with resolute and tranquil step. The justness of its cause constitutes its greatness. Its hand is formidable to enemies and will not fail to succor friends. Its Stalinist word is inviolable. It is with confidence that it looks into its future. Inexhaustible are the material and moral forces of the Soviet land.

The gigantic scope of socialist industry, the enormous progress of the collective farms, the growing prosperity of the masses, the blossoming of a life that is full of joy and happiness—all these have united the Soviet people with communism forever.

The unity of the workers and peasants, the unity of the people and the Bolshevik Party, and the Soviet government, the unity of the nationalities that inhabit the U.S.S.R., the unity of the working people throughout the world and their great fatherland—render the Soviet power an invincible force. The glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin embodied and consolidated this moral and political unity of the Soviet people in the great Stalin Constitution, that charter of nationwide socialist democracy.

The Soviet land will yield to no one its achievements, its inexhaustible riches. The frontiers of the Soviet country are inviolable. On the borders of the U.S.S.R. there stands, unyielding, the strongest army in the world, the Red Army of so-

cialism. By the lesson it taught the Japanese cutthroats at Lake Khasan it provided a clear example of how the cause of peace should be defended. By wiping out the gang of Trotskyite-Bukharinite spies, the Soviet people teaches how one should conduct the struggle against traitors, capitulators and enemies of the people. By its unswerving loyalty to the obligations it had undertaken, the Soviet government, during the Czechoslovakian crisis, showed how agreements should be kept and collective security defended. Only the Soviet people supported and continues to support the Spanish people against the violence of the plunderers and the treachery of their accomplices. Only the Soviet Union stretches out a helping hand to the Chinese people. Only the land of the proletarian dictatorship, supremely, with Stalinist courage and stalwartness, upholds the cause of liberty throughout the world.

The great material power of socialism gathers strength with every hour. Millions of working people everywhere are turning towards it. The revolutionizing influence of socialism over the peoples is a source of fear to world reaction. World reaction wishes to turn back the wheel of history. It is unleashing the wild fascist beast against the land of socialism, against its own peoples. In their mortal hatred of socialism, of the international working class, of every democratic movement, the imperialist cliques of Britain and France concluded a counter-revolutinary alliance with German and Italian fascism. The Munich agreement *was not only a blow at Czechoslovakia.* It is a far wider imperialist conspiracy. It is a conspiracy against the small nations which Britain and France are betraying to the fascist plunderers. It is a conspiracy against the Spanish republic, whose heroic people they wish to place in bondage to the German and Italian violators. It is an onslaught on the French people, around whose neck German and Italian fascism are drawing the noose ever tighter. It is an onslaught on the British people, against whom war is being prepared by its age-old enemy—German imperialism. It is a treacherous blow against the German people, whose enslavement becomes severer the greater the concessions made to the hangmen of the working people of Germany. It is against the people's front movement, against the international proletariat that the Munich conspiracy is directed. It is against *world peace* that the blow is directed by the Munich conspirators, who come forward hypocritically in the role of "saviors of peace."

Not peace was saved by the British and French reactionaries; what they did was to save German fascism from collapse. They strengthened Hitler's position for the conduct of a major war.

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Workers!

Was it possible to preserve peace and avert the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia?

Yes, comrades, it was!

Neither from the military nor the economic point of view was Hitler Germany ready for war. It was lacking in raw materials, foodstuffs and financial resources. Its fortifications were not completed. Its army did not possess trained personnel in sufficient quantity. The rear of German fascism constituted a terrible danger to it. The German people had no desire for war. They were filled with deep discontent. A wave of popular indignation threatened, if war broke out, to sweep away the fascist adventurers.

Ranged against Germany were forces on whose side was the overwhelming preponderance. Czechoslovakia possessed an excellent army and was protected by a system of first-class fortresses. The British and French fleets were in a position to ensure the blockade of Germany. Action by the Soviet Union would have given rise to a powerful wave of the anti-fascist movement in defense of the *just* cause of the peoples. Faced by such forces, *German fascism would have had no alternative but to retreat.* But the British bourgeoisie who dragged France in the wake of their policy did not want

to permit this political defeat of the fascist gendarme of Europe. Britain and France did everything possible to compel Czechoslovakia to capitulate. By exerting unheard of pressure, by supporting the German blackmail, by threatening to take the side of Germany, they succeeded in getting the Czech government to accept the bandit ultimatum of German fascism.

The Munich conspiracy took place because the reactionary bourgeoisie decided to resist by every means the formation of an international peace front together with the Soviet Union. Not at any price would they permit a powerful movement of the peoples against fascism. Having in advance come to agreement with the German fascists, and having distributed the roles, the British reactionaries organized the deception of the peoples with the aid of the farce of ostentatious military mobilization in Britain and France. The Munich conspiracy was able to take place because the hypocritical advocates of French "democracy" preferred cowardly *capitulation* to a policy of resisting the aggressor, because the capitulators broke the determination of the peoples to struggle by sanctimoniously preaching the pacifist creed of peace at any price. The Munich conspiracy was facilitated by the fact that the working class, as a result of the splitting, capitulatory policy of the leaders of the Second International, was unable to muster its forces so as to frustrate the criminal conspiracy of German fascism and of British reaction.

Proletarians, working people!

Now, when millions of people are asking themselves what is the way out of the situation created by the Munich conspiracy, we Communists say: *The policy of capitulation did not and does not save peace. It has already led to war.* Ethiopia and Spain, Manchuria and China, Austria and Czechoslovakia—such are the blood-stained landmarks of this policy, of the policy of concessions to fascism. By weakening the peace forces, by strengthening the fascist aggressors, it helps them to unleash new, even more destructive wars, brings closer a monstrous conflagration of world imperialist war. There is only one way by which to save peace, namely, the way of resolute struggle against the fascist aggressor.

He who does not fight for peace cannot avert war.

To fight for peace means that in *each country* the liberty of the people must be defended against the reactionary bourgeoisie. Just as the feudal nobility during the period of the collapse of feudalism plotted with the enemies of France against the French republic, so now in the epoch of decaying capitalism, the reactionary bourgeoisie in alliance with German fascism are brandishing the sword over the heads of their own peoples.

A successful fight for peace cannot be conducted unless ruthless blows are dealt at those who betray their country and their people. The fascist aggressors, who have cast off all restraint, cannot be curbed unless a resolute struggle is undertaken against the capitulators in one's own country.

The peoples cannot entrust the fate of their countries to governments which conspire with foreign fascism against their own peoples. They cannot entrust either the defense of the country or armaments to such governments. It is against the working class, against all laboring people, against the liberation struggle of other peoples that these reactionary governments will direct their guns.

The condition for a successful struggle to strengthen the cause of peace is to replace the governments of national treachery and shame in the countries menaced by fascist blows from without, by governments that are ready to repulse the fascist aggressors. A government of real national salvation cannot pursue the ruinous path of capitulation. It will conduct a ruthless struggle against capitulators and agents of foreign fascism. It will ruthlessly crush the fascist machinations of reaction at home. It will purge the army of the fascist enemies of its own people. It will estab-

lish real control by the working class over the defense of the country. It will disarm the fascist leagues and make the working class organizations the mainstay of the country's defense. It will conduct a consistent policy of collective security and will not shrink from employing sanctions against the aggressor. With the aid of such governments, that are ready to use armed force in defense of the liberty and the independence of their peoples, it will be possible for a firm front of the peoples to arise which will compel the fascist aggressors to respect frontiers and keep the peace.

Only through the medium of *an alliance of peoples conducting a self-sacrificing struggle for the cause of peace* is it possible to frustrate the criminal plans of the instigators of war. A defense cordon of armed peoples who have joined their forces with the great Soviet people will doom fascism to impotence and hasten on its defeat and its inevitable ruin.

At the time when fascism has already set about the repartition of Europe, when it is crippling other peoples and tearing them to pieces, *the task of the working class now is to head the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations and the defense of the peoples threatened by foreign domination.* The nation is not the gang of fascists, reactionary financiers and industrial magnates who rob and betray the people. The nation is the many millions of workers, peasants and working people generally—the people that is devoted to its country, cherishes its liberty and defends its independence. Just as in Spain and China where the people are fighting with arms in hand, and in Austria and Czechoslovakia, so also in all countries menaced with fascist invasion from without, only the working class can rally, rouse and lead the people to a victorious struggle for national liberation. The working class is the backbone of the nation, the bulwark of its liberty, dignity and independence.

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Workers!

Do not let yourselves be led astray by the treachery of the bourgeois politicians to the people's front. Let the traitors break with the people's front movement. Their departure will only be a gain to it. You are faced with a big and noble task —not only to *strengthen* but also to *extend* the front of the people. New people and new sections of the population, who do not barter the fate of their country and their people, will join with you in the struggle against reactionary traitors, in the struggle *to save the people.*

Who can hammer out this broad front against fascist brigandage? *Only a united working class.*

The working class is the greatest force in modern society. It is the real master of the world, if it is united.

In the face of the international conspiracy of fascism, *international working class unity* has become a matter that brooks no delay. The Communist International carries on an unceasing struggle for this unity. It has repeatedly made the proposal to the Labor and Socialist International to establish united action by the international working class. Millions of workers throughout the world demand unity. Unity is desired by many Social-Democratic and trade union organizations. But this unity is not wanted by the reactionary leaders entrenched in the leadership of the Second International and in a number of Social-Democratic Parties and trade unions. They systematically disrupt the formation of a united, anti-fascist, working class fighting front. It is they who, while retreating step by step before fascism, conduct a shameless, slanderous campaign against the land of socialism. It is they who gather up with a solicitous hand from the cesspool of fascism the Trotskyite agents of the Gestapo, whom they allow to do wrecking work in the labor movement with impunity. It is they who, by their policy of non-intervention, have helped the hangmen who seek to strangle republican Spain. It is they who, without protest, accepted the Munich ultimatum, hypocritically declaring it to be a supreme victory for the cause of peace. It is they who, after Munich, continue

the same policy of splits and capitulation, the policy of disintegrating the labor movement. Without a daily and resolute struggle against these enemies of working class unity, these agents of the bourgeoisie, it is impossible to achieve the cohesion of the ranks of the proletariat. Now it is not enough to declare oneself a supporter of unity; now one must boldly put it into immediate practice on a local scale, as our Spanish brothers have done.

Working class unity—in the name of the peoples who are oppressed by fascism; in the name of the liberation struggle of the Austrian people against alien domination, of the struggle of the peoples of Czechoslovakia against the dismemberment of their country, and against the arbitrary conduct of German imperialism.

Working class unity—in the name of the heroic Spanish people, against whom the conspirators of Munich are preparing the next blow. *Arms and foodstuffs for the fighting Spanish republic!* Lift the shameful blockade! Drive the German and Italian interventionists from Spanish territory.

Working class unity—in the name of the heroic Chinese people. *Support China with arms and credits!* Economic sanctions against the Japanese aggressor! No war materials, no credits for the Japanese plunderer!

Working class unity—in the name of the workers' most urgent interests, in the name of all the peoples whose independence is menaced by German fascism, in the name of peace which is at stake!

Proletarians of all lands, unite, so as to lay the foundation of unity of the peoples against fascist aggression!

Proletarians, working people of all countries, strengthen the fraternal fighting alliance with the great Soviet people.

The U.S.S.R. is the impregnable fortress of socialism, the guarantee of the oncoming victory of the international working class.

The U.S.S.R. is a powerful buttress of peace and fraternity between the peoples.

The land of victorious socialism is an indestructible bulwark of the peoples throughout the world in the struggle against fascist enslavement.

Long live the great Soviet Union, the fortress of socialism, liberty and of the independence of the peoples!

Long live international working class unity!

Long live the Spanish people, fighting with arms in hand in defense of their liberty!

Long live the Chinese people, waging a liberation struggle for their independence!

Long live the people's front against fascism in all countries!

Long live the world-wide front of the peoples against the fascist aggressors!

Long live socialism!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Defenders of Betrayal

"NOW we can sleep soundly again!" said Leon Blum after Chamberlain's and Daladier's unparalleled betrayal of Czechoslovakia. Their sleep was soon broken, however—not, indeed, by the outcry of the Czech people against the traitors, nor by the shrieks of the hundreds of thousands chased from their homes by German and Polish troops, nor by the cry for help of the German and Austrian refugees whom the Belgian Foreign Minister, the Social-Democrat Spaak, delivered up to the tortures of the Gestapo, nor yet by the fresh war threats of Hitler and Mussolini against France—but by an event which seemed to run counter to the whole political idea and outlook of the reactionary leaders of the Second International.

It was the government of the Spanish republic, led by that sincere Socialist Negrin, which broke the sleep of the Second International. For this government, instead of shaking traitors by the hand and congratulating them upon their treachery, dared to haul them up before the court. The Spanish government took the fascist agents, who had got together in the P.O.U.M. for the purpose of bringing disorder into the Spanish republic for the benefit of Hitler and Mussolini, not for misconstrued angels of peace, but for what they actually were—*mortal enemies of the working classes.* This sharp war upon the accomplices of fascism contrasts vividly with the political utterances of Messrs. Blum and Citrine, who fete these accomplices as heroes of peace and gulp down sedative nonsense from their very hand.

Thus, the Secretariat of the Second International sent the Spanish Premier a telegram expressing its concern for the fate of the accused traitors, and adding the demand:

"We assume that at all events world opinion, which is disturbed by the recent disputes, shall be given a chance to follow the legal proceedings, and that nothing shall be done which cannot subsequently be made good."

Surely in these words political hypocrisy reaches the summit of its temerity. So world opinion is disturbed, not by the unqualified support by certain alleged "democrats" to the fascist rogues, but, apparently, by the bringing of fascist rogues themselves to justice. The "world opinion" to which these hypocrites appeal is a "world opinion" which excludes the working class, a "world opinion" voiced by the reactionary press of the world, by the propaganda of Messrs. Hitler and Mussolini, Chamberlain and Flandin. For the working class is profoundly disturbed by the international intrigue of the reactionaries against the Spanish republic, but certainly not by the strong measures of the Spanish republic to counter this intrigue; only the fascists and their aiders and abettors are disturbed by *that,* only the German and Italian secret police and the Intelligence Service, who are losing some of their most potent agents in Spain.

The Second International had a thousand chances to see to it that "nothing will be done which cannot be made good." But it declined to set its supporters moving against Chamberlain and Daladier, who in very truth did something at Munich which cannot be made good. It neglected to oppose M. Blum when he brought forth the policy of so-called "non-intervention," of stifling the Spanish republic. It neglected to call M. Spaak to order when he treated the decisions of his International as scraps of paper in order to earn well-deserved

praise from the German and Belgian fascists. It failed to dissociate itself from the leaders of Hungarian Social-Democracy, who openly backed the predatory plans of the Hungarian ruling class. It secretly decided that its own Chairman, de Brouckere, was not to publish in a Social-Democratic paper an article against the Munich betrayal. Yet it does muster up its sorry strength in order to bother the honest Socialist, Negrin, whose party did not capitulate to fascism but fought it arms in hand, with a telegram that reflects deep concern at the fate of fascist agents and spies. *Whose* concern? Certainly not that of the Social-Democratic workers, who have the closest sympathy for the Spanish republic but not the remotest sympathy for its mortal enemies. That the fascist enemy must be destroyed is realized today by the Social-Democratic workers, and by thousands of Social-Democratic officials who perceive with growing concern the collapse of their International.

In fact, the position in which the Second International finds itself is deplorable. In face of the offensive of fascism, in face of the reactionary world alliance against peace, democracy and the workers, the leading circle of the Second International consists largely of persons who consider it their first task to support Chamberlain's policy and prevent the proletariat from uniting. Is it not shameful that the Executive of the Second International, which met after Munich, could pretend to the workers that Hitler's plan for preparing the conditions for world domination had:

". . . at least for the time being been resisted. Czechoslovakia—though much reduced in size—remains a state, her frontiers guaranteed by Great Britain and France. Through the Munich Conference Hitler has won rather more territory than at Berchtesgaden, but world public opinion, if not, unhappily, that of Germany, will know that international politics do set certain limits to Hitler's aspirations."

There are such limits—but they are not set in Munich, nor will they be set by such people as Chamberlain and Daladier. The uniting of the working class, the fight for really democratic governments in Britain and France, the collaboration of the western democracies with the Soviet Union—here are the conditions for setting the limits. The armed resistance of the Spanish nation sets such a limit to the thrust of fascism. But instead of doing everything to help the Spanish republic, the reactionary leaders of the Second International intervene on behalf of fascist agents, and instead of bringing about the unity of the working class they intrigue against the Communists and against the Soviet Union. One can understand the Social-Democratic *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Basle in its outburst of just embitterment and disillusion on October 14, when it declared:

"The Swiss Socialist Party is a member of the Social-Democratic International. But since the French Socialists under Blum's 'glorious' leadership allowed Spain's richest provinces to be laid waste, and without any guilty feelings are supporting Daladier, who betrayed his country at Munich, it is a dishonor to remain with them in the International. Not another hour in an International which has for many years now merely kept up appearances, the decisive say lying with men who prize the triumph of force and injustice."

This outburst is more than comprehensible—yet we believe that it is the duty of honest, class-conscious Social-Democrats to fight *inside* the Second International against the treacherous policy of the reactionary leaders and to initiate a turn about in common with all the healthy influences in Social-Democracy. Alongside Citrine, Dalton, Blum, Spaak, etc., there are in the Second International and in the International Federation of Trade Unions honest people like Zyromski, Jouhaux, Pritt, Nicole, etc. There is in its ranks the fighting Socialist Party of Spain.

Following the Munich betrayal, Social-Democratic papers in Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Holland, and above

all Spain, stood out against the policy favored by Blum and Citrine, and gave clarity to great masses of workers. If all the healthy forces within the Second International band more closely together, if they combat the policy of the reactionary leaders with the greatest possible vigor and persistence and practice the unity of the workers in action, they can undoubtedly succeed in building a firm dam against the fascist offensive.

Today the reactionary leaders forbid the decent, class-conscious Socialists to struggle for the cause of the workers and the people. The tables can and must be turned. Reaction in the ranks of the Second International can and must be fought, and the representatives of reaction be replaced by those of the workers. The accomplices of the betrayal of democracy and the working class, the accomplices of Chamberlain, Daladier and the P.O.U.M., can and must be expelled from the labor movement, so that tried and trusted representatives of democracy and the proletarian cause may take over the leadership.

The sleeping draughts with which Blum and Citrine are trying to lull the supporters of the Second International are beginning to lose their potency. The old saying resounds with new force: "Men of labor, awake and know your power!" The power of the working class rests in its unity. To realize this unity in the struggle against all traitors and saboteurs is the essential task of those Socialists who turn from the path of obedience to the reactionary bourgeoisie, and take that of the decisive struggle.

"The historical dividing line between the forces of fascism, war and capitalism, on the one hand, and the forces of peace, democracy and socialism on the other hand, is in fact becoming the *attitude* toward the Soviet Union, and not the formal attitude toward Soviet power and socialism in general, but the *attitude* to the Soviet Union, which has been carrying on a real existence for twenty years already, with its untiring struggle against enemies, with its dictatorship of the working class and the Stalin Constitution, with the leading role of the Party of Lenin and Stalin."—Georgi Dimitroff, *The Democratic Front.*

Chamberlain's Echo

WHEN Chamberlain arrived back in London from Munich, he addressed his flock in the following profound and statesmanlike terms: "Now, good people, we can once more sleep soundly." The dismemberment of Czechoslovakia was completed; freedom had been buried throughout widespread areas of Central Europe. Reason enough for Chamberlain to dispatch the "people" to their winter sleep.

Then came Leon Blum, leader of the Socialist Party of France, to translate Chamberlain's remarks into French. On October 1, in a leading article in *Le Populaire*, central organ of the Socialist Party, he wrote:

"There is not one man or woman in France who will refuse a just tribute of gratitude to Mr. Neville Chamberlain and to Edouard Daladier. . . . We may resume our work and find sleep once again."

Chamberlain first sent forth the order to sleep, and Leon Blum echoed it. He went further, becoming lyrical, as follows: "We may now enjoy the beauty of an autumn sun."

What had happened that thus entitled Leon Blum to intone his hymns of gratitude to Chamberlain and Daladier, to apostrophize the beauty of the autumn sun?

In Munich, Daladier had set his name to one of the most shameful pages in the history of France. Now the peoples of the world are pointing accusingly at France. The Czech legionnaires, who fought on France's side during the World War, have flung their French decorations into the garbage-can. Czech scientists and artists have asked French institutes, of which they have been members, to strike their names from the membership roster. France has been abased by her government. In Sudetenland and in the Teschen areas, hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers and honorable democrats have fallen under the yoke of fascist slavery. The British and French reactionaries, together with the fascist slaughterers, are forming a conspiracy against the international working class movement, against democracy and world peace. But all this does not disturb Leon Blum. He accepts the sleeping-draught which Chamberlain and his accomplices prescribe for the people, and passes it on to his party colleagues, so that they also may sleep soundly or doze in the autumn sun.

Blum's attitude towards the Munich betrayal is not merely the isolated "blunder" of a momentarily "disorientated" politician. In the two most important questions which have occupied the interest of Europe during recent times—Spain and Czechoslovakia—Blum has consistently and eloquently held to the line which Chamberlain prescribed.

After the Henlein putsch in Sudetenland, which the Czechoslovakian government swiftly and almost bloodlessly suppressed, Blum wrote:

"The question which appears to outweigh all others . . . is that of actual order in the Sudeten territory. Has the Runciman mission nothing to suggest in this connection? Would it be impossible for England and France to assume control of the indispensable police measures? In the last resort, would it be impossible to call upon methods of international observation and control? Everything must be tried, everything exhausted." (*Le Populaire*, Sept. 14, 1938.)

But did not Blum know who this Lord Runciman was? Was it not clear to him

that the British pro-Hitlerite rulers had sent into Sudetenland not an "observer" but a conspirator against Czechoslovakian democracy, a protector for Henlein? Blum did not defend the *independence* of Czechoslovakia, which had the right and the power to maintain order in the country; instead, he called for international control. Chamberlain and Hitler could thus be well content with Blum.

We do not remember hearing that Leon Blum ever demanded that international observers be sent to Austria, where the rights of self-determination of an entire people were being trampled underfoot; nor to Germany, where 390,000 Jews were being savagely ill-treated, where the finest sons of the German people were dying a lingering and tortured death in the dungeons of the Gestapo and in the concentration camps. We have never heard Blum recommend the sending of an international commission to the British colonies, and that India be conceded her right to independence. But he did demand that control commissions be foisted upon Czechoslovakia; he became the star witness for the fascists' insolent claim that France's ally was not in a position to preserve quiet and order; he agitated on behalf of yet further interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia.

But now Chamberlain had achieved his aim: that France also should consider Czechoslovakia as the creature of the great powers. Nothing came of international control. Henlein, after the lamentable collapse of his "invincible" movement, flew to Hitler to seek protection. Blum supplied a lyrical accompaniment to the text of the secret agreement of Berchtesgaden. Did he call upon the working class to be vigilant? Did he appeal for mass action? Did he demand the convocation of the French parliament? Did he appeal for the strengthening and consolidation of the united front, and for increased activity on its part? Not one of these things did he do! Instead, he published an article in *Le Populaire*, on September 15, entitled "A Noble Audacity in the Cause of Peace," in which he wrote:

"I make no reservations in the homage which I render to the act of Mr. Neville Chamberlain. And, to be just, I feel that Edouard Daladier's name must be associated with his. . . ."

He closed this article with the following words:

"From whatever point of view I may consider Mr. Neville Chamberlain's courageous decision, I still perceive a chance for peace. Therefore I applaud it."

The British prime minister enjoys the services of many assiduous journalists, but none of them brought him greater praise than did the French Socialist leader who hailed him as an audacious angel of peace. It was Leon Blum who had to award this savior of fascism his certificate of merit as a savior of peace. It was Leon Blum who had to designate this huckster who traded in other lands and peoples as a selfless knight, who nobly guards mankind.

The plot progressed. The net was drawn ever more tightly around Czechoslovakia. In Great Britain and France the reactionary betrayers of the people set on foot feverish activities in order to reduce the masses to panic. They sought to terrify them with the prospect of war, although they knew—or *because* they knew—that the democratic powers were capable at any time, by means of a determined united attitude, of forcing the fascist blackmailers to their knees *without* a war and without the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. In this situation also Leon Blum acted to the satisfaction of Chamberlain and Daladier, of Hitler and Mussolini. In the very days when Chamberlain was carrying on his bargaining in Godesberg over Czechoslovakia, Blum wrote that the convocation of parliament—which the Communists were so obstinately demanding—was not necessary. As early as on September 26 —four days *before* Munich—he wrote:

"Great Britain and France have compelled Czechoslovakia to abandon the

Sudeten territory, to the advantage of the Reich. The fact is already accomplished. God himself, as a philosopher has said, does not know how to change the past."

Thus, he was reconciled to the "accomplished fact" before it was accomplished. Chamberlain has willed it—let his will prevail in the Second International! There is no other way by which we can explain Blum's policy.

In the Spanish question, as in the Czechoslovakian, Leon Blum has represented neither the interests of the people of the country concerned nor those of the international working class. Instead, he has converted the desires of the reactionary British rulers into fact. Blum has instigated and maintained the policy of so-called "non-intervention," which, in actual fact, means to aid the intervention of the fascist powers in Spanish affairs. In a series of articles, Blum has declared himself for the plan—concocted by the Chamberlain clique—for the "mediation" of Britain and France in Spain. Blum and those like him obstruct the united action of all workers' parties and organizations on behalf of heroic republican Spain, and thus advance the schemes of the reactionary conspirators who desire to strangle Spain as they have strangled Austria and Czechoslovakia.

In a lengthy article in *Le Populaire* on October 10, Leon Blum deemed it necessary to declare that he does not own a country house, nor does he collect old or new silver. We do not know what are the specific accusations against which he defended himself in this article. But the question is not whether he does or does not own a country villa. The question is: why does he assist those who exploit alien peoples? The question is why does he surround the ultra-reactionary, anti-working class policies of Chamberlain with a smokescreen? Why does he dance when Chamberlain calls the tune?

Blum is not merely an individual; he is also a type. He represents a certain set of Social-Democratic leaders who are earnestly intent on refraining from attacking the basic interests of their bourgeoisie, on not renouncing class coalition, on thwarting united action by the proletariat.

During recent weeks, evil tongues have had it that the chairman of the Second International is Chamberlain, that his deputy is Citrine and his second deputy Blum. In actual fact, both Citrine and Blum have represented the line of reactionary British foreign policy in all outstanding questions, and this with a consistency which one frequently finds wanting in leaders of the Second International.

Why is Leon Blum, in all important matters, the spokesman of reactionary British policy?

For this is a policy which is opposed to the interests of the working class, of the French and British peoples, of all nations which love freedom. How then can a French labor leader support such a policy? It will not be so easy for M. Blum to supply an answer to this question.

Cheap "Internationalism"

THE British Labor Party, one of the chief supports of the Second International, followed in Chamberlain's wake throughout the entire development of the struggle over Czechoslovakia.

This fact is not altered by the more or less severe opposition expressed in speeches by representatives of the Labor Party before the Munich agreement. They were satisfied with speeches; no action followed capable of guiding the British democratic masses towards an independent, decisive stand for the preservation of the integrity of Czechoslovakia.

Also, the Labor Party negated the effect of its occasional speeches in opposition to the reactionary government by its agreement with every specific step taken by Chamberlain in systematic preparation for the Munich betrayal. Labor Party leaders were among those politicians who were in favor of Runciman's reactionary mission, although it was well known that Runciman was merely clearing the way for the Munich agreement.

The Labor Party leaders congratulated Chamberlain on his "courage" in journeying to Berchtesgaden and Godesberg, although it was no secret that Chamberlain undertook these two journeys as would any business man who wishes to come to an understanding with one colleague to the detriment of a third. The Labor Party leaders were among those politicians who worked most actively for the dissemination of that illusion of peace which temporarily dimmed the sight of sincere friends of a genuine peace.

One single substantial act of the numerous and influential British labor movement would have been of the greatest value to the defense of Czechoslovakian independence, for it would have evoked a powerful response, both in the other democratic countries and among those peoples who are subject to fascist tyranny.

Yet the British labor leaders refrained from all activity which might have led to such genuine action against the fascist aggressors. They continually sought to lull the disquiet of British democrats, feeding them with vain hopes, and thus crippling their strength. Yet the British labor leadership had after this the audacity to say, in a statement by the National Council of Labor on October 3, that it had undertaken "to use its utmost influence" for the defense of the Czechoslovakian people. But to what deeds can the National Council refer? In the first place, to the fact that the British labor movement had appealed directly to the German people "to prevent an irremediable wrong being done to a smaller nation."

It would occur to no one to deny the British labor movement the right to appeal to the German labor movement and the German people, if such a step were taken upon the basis of the fullest expression of the power of the labor movement in Britain itself. But it is precisely this prerequisite condition which was lacking, as far as the British Labor leaders are concerned. Even before the critical period in the defense of Czechoslovakia, the anti-fascists of Germany, fighting under the most difficult conditions, realized that the reactionary Labor leaders of Britain had no understanding whatever of the necessity for supporting the German struggle for freedom. One of these leaders, George Lansbury, even enjoyed a confidential talk with Hitler on "ensuring peace." His attitude has never been disavowed by the British Labor leadership. Furthermore, it is not unknown to the active Socialists and

Communists in Germany that the restrictive influence of the British Labor leaders is the chief cause for the encouragement of those forces within the German Social-Democratic movement which are opposed to unity to continue their resistance to the efforts on behalf of unity of the illegal fighters in Germany.

Under these circumstances, the *Message to the German People*, which the British National Council of Labor published on September 28, was of help neither to the Czechoslovakian republic —menaced by Hitler and Chamberlain— nor to the German anti-fascists.

The National Council's message began with the entirely untenable claim that the British labor movement had done everything within its power. Therefore it felt itself obliged to offer the tormented German people a soothing sermon on helplessness. Finally, it made the following appeal to the German people:

"We beg you to exercise whatever power and influence (!) you can to restrain your government from plunging Europe once more into the horrors of wholesale slaughter. . . .

"Raise your voices as we have raised ours (!) against the use of force and violence in the settlement of international disputes."

It is not to be expected that the unfortunate prisoners in German prisons and concentration camps—of whom there are some 200,000—had knowledge of this message. Although one can imagine some S.S. thug, with a taste for malevolent jesting, handing this message over to the prisoners, and sneeringly telling them: "All right, go ahead and use your 'power and influence'!"

What a tragic spirit is this, for those who live in a country where workers' organizations exist freely, where there is freedom of the press, of assembly, and the right to strike, to enjoin the enslaved German masses to "raise their voices, as we have raised ours. . . ."

The reactionary Labor Party leaders raised their voices to congratulate Chamberlain on his conspiracy with German fascism. Are the oppressed workers of Germany to thank Chamberlain because he has helped Hitler out of a deadlock, and thus has rendered far more difficult the German people's struggle against tyranny?

When, in 1848, the Austrian general, Jellacic, suppressed the revolution, the German poet of freedom, Freiliggrath, called upon all peoples to "Strike down Jellacic! Strike down your own Jellacic!" But the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party have chosen rather to support Chamberlain, their Jellacic, and thus to betray the German people in their fight against Hitler.

It cannot too often be repeated that this is the time when international working class solidarity cannot be exhausted by charitable contributions and resounding phrases. The working class and the Socialist movement must not be reduced to the level of the Salvation Army. The imperative need for today and for the near future is that a strong, closely united fighting front be formed, in which every member exerts his strength to the utmost.

German Fascism Threatens Scandinavia

WHEN the laurels, which have quickly faded, were handed out to Chamberlain and Daladier, one man felt somewhat pushed into the background. The Swedish Foreign Minister Sandler claimed the right to a few laurel leaves, for according to his own words, he returned home from the last assembly of the League of Nations as a "victor." "The campaign prepared in Copenhagen is won," he declared boastfully. By "victorious campaign" he meant the crippling of the League according to the plan which was decided upon by the so-called "Oslo States," a plan of "absolute neutrality" towards the fascist aggressors.

The first victim of this "victorious campaign" was Czechoslovakia together with the security of all the small states in Europe. A meeting of Stockholm's Social-Democratic organization "For Peace—Against War," which had already been summoned in order to oppose the plot against Czechoslovakia, was promptly cancelled. Instead the Social-Democracy of Stockholm arranged to celebrate the victory won at the provincial and municipal election results.

At these elections, more than 50 per cent of all the electorate recorded their votes for Social-Democracy. All pro-fascist parties and the Rights with fascist sympathies suffered a heavy defeat. The Swedish Nazis lost their only two provincial seats. The Trotskyite "Flygparty" lost nearly two thirds of its votes and was only able to retain three seats out of 21. The Conservatives lost 45,000 votes and 84 seats. On the other hand the Communists gained 40,300 votes and 11 new seats and the Social-Democrats 421,800 votes and 245 new seats. The provincial elections were a significant stand by the people against fascism, reaction and the fascist warmongers.

The cancelled meeting of protest against the fascist war lords would have appealed to the will of the masses in no uncertain manner. But opposed to the will of the Swedish people to combat fascism stands the foreign policy of the government headed by Social-Democrats, which gives support to fascism, lowers itself to be the servant of the fascist aggressor, and, in so doing, endangers the independence of the Swedish people.

The Chamberlain-Hitler negotiations and the treachery of Munich have provoked disappointment and bitterness in all Scandinavian countries, even among the middle classes. In Sweden, only the fascists and Trotskyites now continue to defend openly the line of "absolute neutrality." Otherwise, in view of the Czechoslovakian tragedy, nobody has dared to justify the policy of concessions to fascism, of "neutral" yielding to the fascist extortioners. The official organ of the Swedish Socialist Party has taken note of the feeling of the masses. Professor Holmgren writes in the *Socialdemokraten* with biting scorn:

"And so if it had come to a world war, we would have remained neutral. Neutral in our own cause, just neutral, although our neutrality would have improved the chances of victory of every power which might to its own advantage unscrupulously attempt to swallow us . . . this much lauded peace means the capitulation of Europe before the gangster law of Germany."

No, with few exceptions, there is no feeling of joy over the "rescued peace." On the other hand, there is the greatest anxiety about the more distant future of the northern countries. Even in the middle class press of Sweden this feeling is clearly expressed.

"The defeat of the Czechs . . . is nothing more or less than the final breakdown of the already decayed international law and order. There is not a nation in Europe, which is not beginning to learn the significance of this catastrophe." (*Dagens Nyheter.*)

"Nobody believes that Hitler will be satisfied with what he has won. Europe will stagger from one crisis to another until the inevitable [war] finally sets in. It would be criminally naive to imagine that the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia will bring peace in Europe." (*Göteborgs Hendelstidning.*)

At the same time bitter words are spoken about Chamberlain and Daladier. France is regarded as an obsolete power. "France has become a second class power. It is now weaker than at the Peace Treaty in 1871." The newspaper *Ostergötlands Dagblad* sums up the feelings of the middle class as follows:

"A remarkable turn of public opinion in our country has been confirmed in recent weeks. The sympathies previously harbored in wide circles towards Chancellor Hitler and his work for the German people now appear to have suddenly disappeared, and everything which is now heard about the feelings of the people indicates the strongest reaction against German political methods."

It is true that until now, no middle class or Social-Democratic voice has openly spoken against the so-called "policy of neutrality," but practically nobody now dares to see any security or escape in the formerly much-vaunted Sandler policy.

The situation in Norway is somewhat different from that in Sweden. The Right-wing middle class press has joined in completely with the cry of jubilation over the "rescued peace," without finding an echo among the people. This class has put forward the proposal that Chamberlain should be given the Nobel Peace Prize. In this wretched Peace Prize campaign, the declaration of Hambro, one of the leaders of the Conservative Party, chairman of the parliamentary Right group and President of the Storthing (parliament), fell like a bomb. When Hambro returned from the Assembly of the League, he declared:

"After England and France had virtually, even if not formally, withdrawn from the pledges made obligatory by the pact of the member states, and when in consequence of this the Oslo states had supported all restrictions against the application of sanctions, the League of Nations ceased to function as an instrument of higher politics. . . ."

And again:

". . . one understands the bitter words which went from mouth to mouth in Geneva, that there will be no war so long as there is yet another small state to offer up to the Great Powers. . . . In every state there will obviously be present the fear of having to suffer the same fate of being carved up, without question, if the game played by the Great Powers wills it."

The German fascist press attacked Hambro, labeling him the "Northern agitator." That was sufficient for the shopkeeper minds of the reactionaries to foster opposition to Hambro and to demand his resignation as President of the Chamber.

The Liberal press and particularly the Labor press supported Czechoslovakia and branded the Munich agreement as treachery. In its appeal, the national executive of the Labor Party stated:

"The handing over of Czechoslovakia has weakened the democratic front against fascism and Nazism and has purchased the most expensive peace for Europe. The new grouping of the Great Powers brings with it the greatest insecurity and danger to the small nations accompanied by still more frantic rearmament with a view to another World War. . . . In international politics, party and government must do all they can to strengthen the principles forming the basis of the League, in order to maintain its structure and build it up as an instrument of international cooperation for the peaceful solution of disputes."

And later the *Arbeiterbladet* wrote in a leading article:

"It is the League of Nations which must again become a living factor among

us. But every great idea must have its practical instrument, and that is what the League must be. . . . Fascist, Nazi, and other reactionary elements have tried to bury the League. . . . Against this wretched plan, which seeks to destroy all international cooperation on a democratic basis, the most energetic and conscious fight must be made. Real democracy must now learn its place—in small and large countries. The strengthening and victory of democracy is a condition of life to the small countries. Fascism, the armaments race and war threaten their existence. . . . It is the policy of capitulation that is the greates danger today to democracy, to the independence of the separate nations and to world peace."

Arbeiterbladet adds that only collective security could have led to a real easing of the tension. All these confirmations by the Labor Party are very correct, but unfortunately the actions of the Labor Party Government do not tally with these words. That the Labor government should have just sent a trading agent to Franco is an act of that policy of capitulation which *Arbeiterbladet* rightly calls the "greatest danger to democracy, to the independence of the separate nations and to world peace."

This policy of capitulation has assumed the most dangerous forms in Denmark. *Arbeiterbladet*, the organ of the Danish Communist Party, characterizes the Danish attitude of today:

"When one reads the telegram sent by the Swedish Trade Union Congress in the name of 900,000 members, to the department President of Czechoslovakia, one asks the question: Why is the Trade Union Congress of Denmark keeping quiet? When in the press of other parts of Scandinavia, one reads the names of all the men who stepped forward and honorably spoke their opinion about the betrayal of democracy, one wonders why Danish names were missing.

"When one follows the mighty movement of protest, which is breaking out in all countries in spite of government opposition, and which is causing other similar movements to spring up, one asks: Why is Denmark silent?"

But on the same day the official organ of the Danish Socialist Party had also found its voice again and had summed up the courage to draw "lessons." *Socialdemokraten* looked around for the culprit in the present-day events of Europe and "found" him—perhaps not in fascism, perhaps not among the English and French reactionaries. No, as far as the Danish Social-Democratic leaders were concerned, the culprit was the Soviet Union and Communism.

In Northern Schleswig the Nazis are openly demanding "Reincorporation into the Reich." The German government demands the handing over of soldiers who have deserted from the Reichswehr and they are handed over. The German government demands the removal of Danish newspaper editors, and they are removed. The German government demands greater approval from the press, and the government gives suitable directions. The German government has openly pressed for the prohibition of the Communist Party, and the Social-Democrats are now attempting to prepare he ground for such prohibition.

In Denmark only the revolutionary proletariat and its Communist Party now continue to come out openly in defense of the interests of the people. No other Danish party from the Social-Democrats to the Conservatives dare any longer to appeal to the national sentiment of the Danish people, for each awakening of national consciousness would aggravate the established capitulation before Hitler's Germany. In fact, only the Communist Party has now the right to call itself a Danish party. It is just for that reason that Hitler's fascism demands its dissolution.

In all Scandinavian countries, respect for the Soviet Union has grown considerably in the last few weeks. The organ of Swedish Social-Democracy, *Socialdemokraten*, which previously reserved space for any slander against the Soviet Union, must now admit that the attitude of the Soviet Union is such as "to strengthen the moral and political prestige of the Soviet Union." The Norwegian *Arbeiterbladet* writes:

"Today the Soviet Union has come forward in a manner that is strong and worthy of respect. She did not wobble about all over the place but declared herself prompt and ready to fulfill her international obligations."

And the Swedish Social-Democratic paper *Arbetet* wrote:

"It cannot be contested that the Soviet Union is the only great power able to look back on events with an unstained record."

Under the influence of recent events, the idea of a Scandinavian defense bloc, which was put aside by Sandler and his clique, has again come to life; this is connected with the fact that the class-conscious workers and the clear thinking men of the progressive middle class are beginning to convince themselves that the policy of "absolute neutrality" must lead to the sacrifice of the independence of northern countries, and to their being handed over, country by country, to fascism.

On the other side the reactionary bourgeoisie are tightening their efforts to bury democracy and cripple the labor movement by their policy of concessions to the fascist blackmailers. In the near future everything will depend upon the efforts of the working classes to gather around them the combined progressive forces of the people, and to compel the governments to finish with the policy of concessions to the fascist extortioners. The working class must learn to move *on the battlefield of foreign politics*, in order to defend on that territory the foundations of democracy in every single country in the world. The highest development of the democratic rights of the people is *the strongest security against fascist aggression*. However, in order to guarantee on all sides the development and consolidation of democracy, it is necessary, by means of a resolute foreign policy, to bar the way to the insolent intervention of German fascism in Scandinavian affairs. If the Scandinavian states consolidate and expand the democratic rights of the people; if they combine to defend themselves against the fascist enemy; if they in their own sphere of influence bring about a strong policy of collective security; if they, in their foreign policy collaborate with all forces of peace in Europe and with the strongest power of peace, with Soviet Russia, they are inaccessible to German fascism.

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The Fight for the Independence of Jugoslavia

THE peoples of Jugoslavia are profoundly disquieted at the Munich conspiracy, and at the betrayal by England and France of their brother nation Czechoslovakia, the ally of Jugoslavia. When the conspirators were meeting together in Munich, a wave of protest against the carving up of Czechoslovakia surged through the whole of Jugoslavia. The indignation of all peoples in Jugoslavia was intense. In Belgrade (Serbia), demonstrators burned the German fascist swastika on the principal square of the town. In Zagreb (Croatia), demonstrators smashed the windows of the German consulate. In the whole of Jugoslavia hundreds of thousands of volunteers offered their services to take part in defense of Czechoslovakian independence.

While the masses of all peoples in Jugoslavia recognize the enormous danger of German and Italian imperialism, which is immediately threatening their independence, the government of Stoyadinovich carries on its treacherous policy in the service of Hitler and Mussolini. As the agent of Hitler, Stoyadinovich expedited the occupation of Austria. As the agent of Hitler and Mussolini he destroyed the Little Entente and promoted the destruction of Czechoslovakia's independence. Through his treacherous policy this man, who is the double of the Pole Beck, wants to prepare the same fate for the peoples of Jugoslavia.

Who is Stoyadinovich and whom does his government represent? Stoyadinovich is a representative of great vested interests. He himself is a banker. After the parliamentary elections in 1935, when the people had overthrown the military fascist dictatorship, the wealthy bourgeoisie and the dynasty, frightened at the rising wave of discontent among the masses, brought him into power.

Stoyadinovich belonged to the reactionary wing of the Serbian radical party (which had split), to the so-called "Young Radicals," which until now have played an important part in all governments since the military dictatorship. In order to form the new government and to create for himself a certain foundation among the masses, Stoyadinovich had to look around for allies. In parliament he had then only a few people. The other deputies were supporters of the Yeftich party. He found such allies in the Catholic priest Koroschez, leader of the largest Slovenian party (*Slovenska Ludska Stranka*) and in Spach, the leader of the Bosnian Moslems. From these two parties and the group of "Young Radicals" was later formed the government party, the so-called "Jugoslavian Radical Confederation."

Stoyadinovich reintroduced fascist methods. Meetings and demonstrations, working class, cultural and other organizations are forbidden. There exists a censorship of the press, similar to the one which existed under the military fascist dictatorship. He threatens the abolition of trade unions and intends to institute a fascist trade union on the model of the German and Italian fascist trade unions.

The government of Stoyadinovich has been reconstructed twice in recent months. Those ministers who were not entirely satisfied with its foreign and domestic policy were replaced by elements that are purely fascist. In this way, Chodiera, the leader of the fascist organization "Borbaschi," was brought into the government. The earlier reactionary Jugoslavian Yeftich Party split, and a great many of the reactionary fascist elements went over to the party of

Stoyadinovich. Thus the Jugoslavian Radical Confederation is becoming a center around which all pro-fascist and reactionary elements are grouping. Moreover, the German fascists, some Croatians and some deputies from Voyevodina are also going over to the party of Stoyadinovich.

On the other side stand the democratic forces of Jugoslavia; the Serbian united opposition (the democratic party of Davidovich, J. Yovanovich and the Agrarian Party, the Radicals with Atze Stanoyavich); the democratic peasants' bloc in Croatia; the Croatian peasant party, Matschek, the "Ravitshevzen," and the independent democrats of Pribschevitch; the working class and other democratic groups and organizations from the whole of Jugoslavia.

The Serbian united opposition and the democratic peasants' bloc in Croatia are in opposition. They have boycotted parliament and the government since Stoyadinovich came into power.

The democratic peasants' bloc in Croatia, and the Serbian united opposition came to an agreement in October, 1937, over the solution of the national question of the Croats. They demand the recognition of the Croats and their status as a nation with equal rights in the administration of the state, together with political autonomy. They resolve further to undertake the removal of the illegal constitution of 1932 and the arrangement of new elections for a Constituent Assembly, in which the people may freely decide the constitution of the state. On August 15, 1938, the representatives of the Croatian democratic peasants' bloc, with Matschek at their head, went to a joint conference at Belgrade. Here, in the presence of 150 Serbian and Croatian political functionaries, a joint resolution was carried which declared among other things that:

"The representatives of the Bloc of National Agreement, who have remained true to the principles of democracy and sovereignty of the people, welcome the action of October 8, 1937, as a historic settlement, and one that opens a new epoch in the relations between Serbia and Croatia.

"This agreement, fully guaranteeing civil and political rights, was accepted by voluntary understanding on the part of the representatives of Serbia and Croatia. The Constituent Assembly must decide the parliamentary system, as well as the constitution. The new constitution cannot be laid down without an understanding on the part of the majority of Serbs and Croats. The political events in Jugoslavia and in the entire world prove the righteousness and necessity of this understanding."

Stoyadinovich is now trying again to disunite the democratic forces of the Serbs and Croats, united for the first time after a twenty-year-long national struggle, for these forces are not in agreement with his policy of befriending Hitler and Mussolini. They demand the establishment of democracy and the granting of democratic freedom in Jugoslavia. They demand that Jugoslavia should in its foreign policy rely on the democratic forces—on the peace bloc. The resolution says:

"At any moment, the international conflict which threatens everyone may break out. It is clear that such a conflict would spare no one, but would lay hold of everyone including ourselves. All small nations must defend their existence and their freedom. The great danger exists that these events may overtake us at a time when the national question between Croats and Serbs remains unsolved. The state will not possess the strength which it needs. It will only have that strength if a government embracing all the peoples of our state is in power. Only in the brotherhood of Serbs and Croats can the state find the moral, political and military strength great enough to defy the danger that threatens us from all sides."

That is what the great majority of the peoples of Jugoslavia think. The Jugoslavian peoples are not in agreement with the treacherous fascist foreign policy of Stoyadinovich. The people of Jugoslavia are uniting to resist the foreign fascist robbers and their agent—Stoyadinovich.

If Stoyadinovich and the wealthy ruling classes obstinately suppress the Croats, pursue them and cancel their fraternal understanding with the Serbs, a serious situation will arise. Then the fascist separatists, who until now have been carrying on unsuccessful propaganda for the separation of Croatia, will gain influence. Hitler and Mussolini will not hesitate to recognize the services of their agent Stoyadinovich for preparing the dismemberment of Jugoslavia and for supporting, to that end, the Croat separatists. For that reasons the government of Stoyadinovich is the greatest danger to Jugoslavia and to the independence of its peoples.

In March of this year, the Communist Party of Jugoslavia issued an appeal, in which they called upon all democratic parties and organizations, and all honest patriots, even the supporters of the Stoyadinovich, and the Yeftich Party, to unite against the German danger; against the party which is an enemy of the state, the party of Stoyadinovich, whose overlordship in Jugoslavia is a replica of the part played in Poland by Beck. The appeal demanded the formation of a government which would guarantee the defense and enlightenment of the peoples of Jugoslavia. This appeal found a great response throughout the whole country, especially in Slovenia. In all parts of the country countless joint committees are being formed to fight against the German danger and the agents of Hitler. The people on these committees belong to all political parties, except the fascist party.

The discontent of the masses with the government of Stoyadinovich and its foreign policy has grown since the Czechoslovakian tragedy. Stoyadinovich's government replies by using terror against the democratic parties and the working class. Stoyadinovich fixed the parliamentary elections for the beginning of December this year. He restricted the time for election propaganda, in order to deprive the democratic forces of the possibility of being well prepared.

The elections are to be carried out on the basis of the reactionary law of 1931, according to which only such parties who are able to nominate candidates throughout two-thirds of the whole country can take part in the elections. In the fight against this reactionary law has appeared the opposition bloc of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, which jointly fought the elections in 1935 and later defeated the Yeftich government party. For that reason Stoyadinovich is striving with all his might to prevent the creation of such a mighty opposition bloc, and he is endeavoring to split the Serbian united opposition.

He wants to destroy the understanding between Serbs and Croats. He fears the union of the democratic parties with Communism because this bloc includes the working class. But around this bloc are united, besides the working class, all other democratic groups and organizations in the fight against the government of Stoyadinovich. Stoyadinovich has used terror in order to facilitate a victory for himself at the elections. But most people in Jugoslavia know that with a victory for Stoyadinovich the fate of Jugoslavia will be sealed. On the other hand, the victory of the democratic forces will mean the guarantee of Jugoslavia's independence.

German Fascism Threatens Hungary

THE Hungarian nation is undergoing today one of the greatest crises in its history. The precipice, along the edge of which Hungary has been led during twenty years of reactionary home and foreign policy, was revealed in its awful depth following the Munich betrayal. After the World War Hungary lost, by the Treaty of Trianon, two-thirds of her territory and more than half, *i.e.*, twelve millions, of her inhabitants, about three millions of these being Hungarians.

In the hope of a revision of the Treaty of Trianon, in the hope of winning back the old frontiers of the "holy Empire of Stephan," the Hungarian financial and landowning magnates allied themselves to the most reactionary forces in Europe. They chained Hungary to the Rome-Berlin war axis, they took part in every intrigue against peace and the freedom of the peoples in Central Europe. But in the moment when they hoped to pluck the fruits of their reactionary policy, it became manifest that German fascism regarded them merely as its servile curs. True, it threw them a slice of the booty —but Hungary is to pay for this with her independence.

This policy of the Hungarian government, to obey Hitler's behest, was a supreme betrayal of the interests of the Hungarian nation. Moreover, the ruling classes in Hungary were not unaware of the fact that Hitler's mobilization of two million troops was made, not on behalf of the Sudeten German people, but because he wanted to clear Czechoslovakia out of his way, in order to overcome the most serious obstacle in his campaign for conquering Southeastern Europe. The ruling classes in Hungary were also not unaware that Hitler Germany looked upon Hungary as an "agrarian hinterland," and that after conquering Czechoslovakia Hitler will force Hungary to obey his command. Notwithstanding all the contradictions inherent in the problem of the Hungarian minorities, Czechoslovakia formed a defensive buffer for Hungary against the thieving designs of the swastika. Instead of strengthening this buffer, instead of supporting Czechoslovakia in her fight against Hitler, the Hungarian reactionaries helped to undermine Czechoslovakia. And now that Czechoslovakia has laid down her arms before Hitler and the Czech government has become his tool, Hungary lies defenseless before Germany's insatiable imperialism.

The Hungarian government, which was by no means ignorant of Hitler's real plans, tried to avert the danger by paltry diplomatic wriggling. It calmed itself in the belief that it could steer a middle course between Berlin and Rome, that it was possible to exploit the clash of interests between Germany and Italy in the Danube valley and to play off the axis powers one against the other. It also counted upon the support of Britain and upon Poland's desire to place obstacles in the way of Germany's advance to Southeastern Europe. Hungarian diplomacy was working to build a kind of transverse alliance across Southeastern Europe with Italy and Poland, and to win for it the support of the British Conservatives.

The parties of the bourgeois opposition unfriendly to Hitler saw in this effort of the Hungarian government the best means of averting the Hitler menace. The party leaders in the Hungarian Parliament counted on Mussolini's support against Hitler, for they did not correctly estimate the play of forces within the axis, nor see clearly that while Mussolini can grant favors to his Hungarian

friends, he is in no position to guarantee their independence. They left out of account that the British Conservatives were seeking to bargain with Hitler, and that Poland is an agent of German fascism in Eastern Europe. The plan of the Hungarian government is a rotten speculation. Hungary, it is true, has grown territorially, but has been debased in practice into a tool of German policy.

The ink was not dry on the Munich agreement when the Hitler press began to deride Hungary. Goering's organ, the *Essener Nationalzeitung*, mocked the Hungarian propaganda for revision. It writes on October 13:

"Even in Budapest there is scarcely room for doubt that the old kind of revisional propaganda is now more or less on the rocks. The scapegoats which they hurriedly created in the early post-war years—the League of Nations, some of the West-European democracies—have become as good as meaningless. Apart from this, the revisional demands to date have themselves been so 'greedy' that even people seriously interested in them stroked their beards in misgiving. Revision in the original sense, that is, re-establishment of pre-war conditions, would mean nothing less than the return of Croatia, Slavonia, Batchka, the Banate, the whole of Siebenburgen, Carpatho-Russia and Slovakia, to say nothing of Burgenland, concerning which certain super-patriots even took bitter exception to National-Socialist Germany for not handing it over on March 12."

Goering's paper says that Hungary will get no more than that share of the booty which Germany leaves for her. But even this reward will cost Hungary dear. The *Nationalzeitung* talks, not without motive, of the "historic succor of the German Reich" to the Hungarian "nation of peasants." It writes that Hungary owes it simply and solely to the German people, that there are still ten million Hungarians living in Southeast Europe today. It points to the "600,000 Swabians living in Hungary, who like all Germans abroad are now prouder than ever to be good Germans, *i.e.*, good National-Socialist Germans." It brazenly asserts that in the veins of the Hungarian people German blood also flows, and that this German blood is what protects the Hungarian people from extinction.

Anyone who recalls how Hitler introduced his campaign against Czechoslovakia with similar arguments will appreciate the significance of these words.

On October 17 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* wrote that the Imredi government was meeting with resistance in home affairs. It wrote up the theme that a new government with Hitler's friend Daranyi at its head "would clarify Hungary's line in foreign affairs," *i.e.*, it dictates to Hungary German imperialism's wishes.

After the breakdown of negotiations with the Czechoslovak government at Komorn, the Hungarian government sent the Hitler fascist Daranyi to Munich to negotiate with Hitler. When he returned home from Munich with Hitler's orders, the Hungarian reactionaries realized that it is not for them to ask but that they have been thrown upon the good graces of German fascism. But they did not draw from this the only tolerable conclusion, that of preparing the defense of the Hungarian nation against the threatened enslavement and coming to an understanding with neighboring countries similarly menaced. On the contrary, Premier Imredi announced that in future Hungary's policy will accord even more closely with that of the totalitarian states. Some days later he gave out his program for the "*Gleichshaltung*" (uniformitization) of Hungary. This "*Gleichshaltung*" would mean nothing other than the sacrifice of Hungary to German imperialism. He who gobbles up fascism, dies thereof.

A "uniformitized" Hungary will be degraded into a tillage serf of Hitler Germany. The German regime does not need Hungarian industry, it needs Hungarian corn. It would condemn a great portion of the working class to unemployment, or to unmitigated forced labor. The village communities would lose every prospect of agrarian reform, since the German war state would rule primarily through the big landowners. The German

conqueror would also, without doubt, set about Germanizing the Hungarian people.

The experiences of the past nineteen years show the Hungarian people that the policy of alignment with the reactionary forces in Europe has brought Hungary to the edge of the precipice. The experience of the recent past shows them that the freedom of Hungary can only be retained and safeguarded if the Hungarian people bind up their fate with the struggle of other peoples for freedom.

The revolutionary history of the Hungarian people is again becoming a live force. For hundreds of years the Hungarian people lived under foreign Turkish rule and fought for their liberty, for hundreds of years they lived under the Hapsburgs, and fought for their country's independence. The history of the Hungarian people is one long chain of armed struggles against foreign masters, for the freedom and independence of Hungary. The *"Gleichshaltung"* of Hungary, the rule of the swastika over Hungary open a new period of hard struggle for freedom and independence for the Hungarian people. At the head of the struggle for freedom will stand the Hungarian working class. In the fight for the freedom and independence of Hungary the Hungarian people will carry on the great traditions of their past, of the struggles of Hunyadi, Kinishi, Zrinyi, and the traditions of Rakoczy, Petoefi and Kossuth, who knew how to move the masses of the Hungarian people against the invader. In this struggle for freedom against the fascist conqueror the watchword of Rakoczy's Kuruz Army will live again: "Pro patria et libertate"—"For country and freedom!"

"Fascism, reaction and war are advancing against the whole world as the result of the Munich betrayal.

"Against this menace there is a rising movement of the working class and of the peoples to oppose the Munich treason and its consequences.

"In this world movement, there stand out before the peace-loving peoples of all the world two centers of resistance to the fascist flood, two points from which leadership and inspiration can be given to the majority of mankind struggling for democracy and peace, two rallying grounds for the hard-pressed forces of progress and culture—the Soviet Union and the United States.

"Today, as never before, the fate of the world depends upon the role that will be played by these two greatest powers in the world; more than ever, this *depends upon the collaboration of these two powers for their common aims.*

"The Soviet Union and the United States have common problems, common interests and common enemies.

"This is a central fact in the new world situation."—Earl Browder, *Social* AND *National Security.*

The Austrian Catholics and Foreign Rule

AROUND the Cathedral of St. Stephen, towering above Vienna, which is visible from afar, October brought great Catholic demonstrations against the foreign yoke of German fascism. These demonstrations, in which large masses of people took part, caused consternation in leading German fascist quarters. Scarcely had the betrayal of Munich been brought about, scarcely had Chamberlain given the carving up of Czechoslovakia his blessing, as he did the occupation of Austria six months earlier, scarcely had the fascist birds of prey begun celebrating the "liberation" of the Sudeten Germans, when ten thousand Austrians demonstrated against their "liberators."

On October 7, 8,000 young Catholics gathered in St. Stephen's Cathedral for a service for youth. The same Cardinal Innitzer who, after the occupation of Austria, had bent the knee to Hitler and pledged the victors his loyalty, on this occasion delivered an unusual address. The bitterness of the mass of Catholic people against foreign rule, their indignation at the unworthy subservience of the Cardinal, and the futility of this subservience, served as an urgent warning to the highly placed clergy not to cut themselves totally adrift from the sentiments of the Austrian people.

In the Cardinal's address expression was given to his desire to find his way back into the hearts of the people.

"There is still a body of youth," he cried, "which does not listen so easily to delusive slogans and glib phrases. . . . We have been robbed of our flag and our organization, which we built up with great idealism, but in spite of that we have won more than we have lost, for we have learnt the supreme value of unity. . . . Store up your beliefs in your heart, give them outward expression as often as you can, even when it means suffering for you!"

After the service Innitzer was cheered wildly by a large crowd outside the Cathedral. To attempts at disruption by the Nazis, the Catholic youth answered with cries of "Hail Jesus!" "Innitzer command, and we will follow!" "Hail *our* leader!"—with the stress on the word "our." Serious disturbances followed, people were injured and there were many arrests. On this day the Nazis got the worst of it. On the next day the demonstrations were repeated. The S.S. and S.A. received reinforcements, the heavy door of the Archbishop's palace was broken in with battering rams, the brown-shirted menials of the state poured in, smashing everything right and left. They stole the Cardinal's robes, his holy cross and golden ring, threw furniture and furnishings into the street and set fire to these, throwing the Cardinal's purple cloak onto the blaze.

In the adjoining house the scene was repeated. The Cardinal, who fled, was threatened, and Canon Kravarik was thrown from the second story into the street, where he was left lying with broken thighs. The people of Vienna showed their solidarity with the Catholics, and day after day disturbances and demonstrations occurred outside the churches, in the streets and the parks. The situation became so threatening that Hitler called upon his State Commissioner Buerckel, who came by airplane from the Saar to Vienna, in order to restore order in "the least secure province of Greater Germany." Buerckel ordered, through the Vienna district leader Globoc, the assembling of a mass meeting of

his henchmen in the Heldenplatz. Buerckel screamed that "a mere few hundreds of dear old ladies and misguided children" had taken part in the Catholic demonstrations—but all Vienna knows better. Afterwards the fascist brutes ran wild outside the churches. But the fascist leaders fear new demonstrations of Catholics. They called back their people, who now fell upon Jewish citizens, ravaged and destroyed Jewish restaurants and shops, put fire to synagogues and hotels. The Prussian commissars also engineered a "boiling rage of the people" in other towns. In Salzburg the "lionhearts" attacked the Franciscan Monastery, plundering and destroying it. In Klagenfurt the local leader egged on his henchmen because the priests had dared to decorate their churches for a holiday. All these excesses cannot hide the fact that the street demonstrations in Vienna seriously alarm the German fascists.

The German fascists understand very well that these demonstrations sprang not only from the resistance of religious Catholics to the anti-Catholic measures, but from that of the entire Austrian nation to the foreign yoke. In the decrees against religious freedom, in the closing down of private Catholic schools and seminaries, and in the taking over of homes and institutes belonging to the religious community and to charitable institutions, the mass of the people see the might and the strong arm of the hated foreign rulers.

Cardinal Innitzer's letter, in which he advised Catholic parents to continue sending their children to religious school, would, at any other time, scarcely have met with response from the people—but in the fight against the foreign yoke the Austrian people support every kind of resistance to their fascist masters. The people of Vienna were justly indignant when at the command of Innitzer bells sounded and thanksgiving services were held in all churches, as the German troops entered Vienna in March. And the people of Vienna grasped the meaning of the bells' silence and the absence of thanksgiving services as the German troops entered the Sudeten districts. Without distinction of creed, the Austrian people sanctioned the action of the Austrian bishops in keeping clear of the oath of allegiance which the German Episcopate swore to Hitler after the Munich betrayal. Without distinction of creed, the Austrian people recognized the fight of the religious Catholics for their freedom of worship as part of the national liberation struggle against foreign domination.

The Prussian commissars understood this character of the Catholic demonstrations very well. In his speech at the Heldenplatz, Buerckel threatened:

"We will not tolerate senseless agitators who are making a crazy attempt to 'pray' their so-called Christian Austrians away from the German people."

This threat was aimed directly against the will of the Austrian people not to pray themselves away, but to tear themselves away from Hitler Germany. The *Deutsche Diplomatisch-Politische Korrespondenz* speaks of "antagonism to National-Socialism," of "clerical opposition to the state," of "unfortunate incursions of un-national elements," of "a repudiation of the thoughts of national solidarity" and of "affronts to the patriotic spirit." The tension was "only increased by using force."

In the slogans of the Catholic demonstrators the same paper rightly sees "a parodying of National-Socialist slogans and deliberate abuse and derision of National-Socialism." Buerckel sees in these events an attempt "to carry the struggle to a new plane." In the demonstrations he sees "a political demonstration against the state," and "encroachment on the leadership authority" of Hitler.

It is altogether correct for the fascist conquerors to interpret the demonstrations of Austrian Catholics as acts of enmity to National-Socialism, as a "repudiation of Greater Germany," as a political demonstration against the oppressing German state, as a challenge to Hitler's authority as leader. The front

of struggle against the foreign yoke has grown wider. The resistance of the workers in the factories has been expressed in a number of strikes, the resistance of the forced laborers in mutinies during transport, the resistance of the soldiers and officers in passive disobedience which has led to the disbanding of whole regiments. Housewives have organized hunger marches at the markets. The peasants have protested against foreign rule in various ways, most recently by the numerous mayoralty resignations in the peasant districts. Now the religious people are moving. The revolutionary workers are supporting this movement. They ask no questions as to the motives which led Cardinal Innitzer recently to change his opinions, for they know the underlying motives of the Catholic working people: the will to be free from the oppressive foreign yoke and to win back the independence of the Austrian people.

"To want peace is not enough. It is necessary to *fight* for peace. It is absolutely inadequate to carry on general propaganda against war. Propaganda against war 'in general' does not in the slightest degree hinder the conspirators sitting in Berlin or Tokyo from carrying out their dastardly work. They would be quite satisfied if the working class were to go no further than such general propaganda.

"A successful struggle to maintain peace absolutely requires that the joint activity of the proletariat and the widest masses of the people be directed against the *specific instigators of war* and against those forces inside the country which help them directly or indirectly."—Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*.

Lindbergh Senior and Lindbergh Junior

IT WAS fortunate for Lindbergh's father that he did not live to see his son's betrayal of the ideals of democracy for which he himself had always fought and made great sacrifices. The elder Lindberg was Member of Congress in the United States from 1907 until 1917, and fought the bankers and finance lords; he made a biting attack on them in his book *The Money Trust*. His son, Lindbergh the airman, married into the House of Morgan and let himself be used for window-dressing unscrupulous money rackets, which rob American people.

The elder Lindbergh was a lawyer, one of the sturdy type of men that joined the "Populists," the "People's Party." As active leader of the Non-Partisan League, a farmers' organization, he fought for the rights of the common people and defended the interests of the small farmer against the robberies of the powerful railway, grain elevator and insurance companies. These concerns drove tens of thousands from their homes, which were crushed beneath mortgages. Young Lindbergh has joined up with the most reactionary elements and enemies of the workers and farmers.

The elder Lindberg was one of the few men in public life who had the courage to make an uncompromising stand against the imperialist war, fearlessly risking death at any time at the hands of the crowds which had been aroused by a corrupt press into a fever of false "patriotism." The elder Lindbergh was a man of the people, of the type of Lincoln, and if he were alive today he would certainly be a staunch friend of the Soviet Union. Young Lindbergh has become Hitler's public agent and carries out jobs of espionage and provocation in the interests of fascist Germany.

The elder Lindbergh carried on a fierce fight against the imperialist war of 1914-18. He saw it as the struggle of the big capitalist powers, in which millions were killed and crippled, and wrote a book in 1917 entitled *Why Is Your Country at War?* Twenty years later his son helps to destroy democratic nations through his services to Hitler and to prepare the second world war.

Lindbergh's career from unknown employee in the air mail service to trusted agent of the Chamberlain-Hitler-Goering set is the story of the systematic exploitation of his popularity as a commercial pilot in the pay of the gentlemen of Wall Street, who wanted to monopolize aviation in the United States; it is the story of the systematic exploitation of his "authority" in flying matters for the fight against the Soviet Union. For these services he was disgraced with a decoration from Hitler.

Lindbergh trained himself for the services he is now performing for Hitler through the willingness of his service when he was in the pay of the unscrupulous big capitalists in his own country. Nobody will deny the daring and skill displayed by Lindbergh on his sensational flight across the Atlantic to Paris in 1927; nevertheless it must be remembered that he undertook the flight neither for the sake of science, nor patriotism, nor idealism. His flight was nothing but a sensation, and for a long time he was overpaid for it. His flight was organized by a group of cold, calculating business men of St. Louis. At their head stood Major William B. Robertson with his partners, owners of the Robertson Aircraft Corporation of St. Louis. They were the first to cash in on Lindbergh's flight.

The first result of the much advertised Atlantic flight was the organizing of "The Lindbergh Line," in which the chief financial interest was that of the

Pennsylvania Railroad, notorious for its hostility to trade unionism. Lindbergh allowed his name to be used and received in payment 25,000 ten-dollar shares of the company's capital.*

About the same time the Lindbergh craze was at its height, the Aviation Corporation was founded. This concern starred some of the biggest names in the American finance world: William H. Vanderbilt, Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, S. Sloan Colt of the Bankers Trust Company under Morgan's control, Robert Lehman of Lehman Brothers, bankers, D. K. E. Bruce, son-in-law of Andrew W. Mellon, the American Aluminum king and at that time Secretary of the Treasury in Hoover's Cabinet, etc.

It was later revealed in Congress that Walter F. Brown, Postmaster General in the ill-famed Hoover government, had misused his official position to withhold mail contracts from independent air lines.

Thus Lindbergh placed his name at the disposal of unscrupulous trusts, which aimed at establishing a monopoly in order to plunder the government by charging scandalously high rates for the transport of mail.

Fortunately, on February 9, 1934, President Roosevelt cancelled all the contracts for air mail entered into by the Hoover government on the ground that they were the results of secret corruption and dishonest agreements.

Authoritative information has established that the government paid on the basis of the air mail contracts under Hoover, $78,000,000 for the transport of air mail, or double the freightage actually carried, the extra payment being regarded as a subsidy.

Young Lindbergh's dealing with the late Dwight Morrow, a partner of J. P. Morgan & Co., brought him in touch with the family of the finance magnate. Shortly afterwards the American press was filled with sensational reports that the airman had married Morrow's daughter, Anne. Since that time, Lindberg's "contributions" to flying, as the group of the heroes of the Soviet Union so well observed in their answer to his slanders of the Soviet Union, have been chiefly confined to pleasure trips to all quarters of the globe, particularly Germany.

In August of this year he asked for a Soviet visa for the purpose of visiting the Soviet Union as a "tourist," saying that he would like to see the air display at Moscow on August 18. As he was an American citizen and a well-known flier, his request was met with great politeness. Shortly after his return to London, he spoke at a dinner given by Lady Astor, in which, according to *The Week*, he said, among other things, that Soviet aviation was in a "chaotic" state.

The Soviet press has stated quite plainly that Lindbergh's flight as "tourist" to the Soviet Union was inspired by the Chamberlain circle, who wanted to make use of Lindbergh as an "authority" on aviation in order to belittle the air force of the Soviet Union and thus undermine the confidence of Czechoslovakia and France in the military strength of the U.S.S.R. In view of the worldwide fame of Soviet aviation and Soviet aviators, and of the brilliant performances by Gromov, Chkalov, Vodopyanov and the three Soviet women fliers Grisodubova, Ossipenko and Rasskova, who recently set up a new record, Lindbergh's statement can only arouse laughter.

Shortly afterwards Lindbergh flew to Berlin, where Hitler's air minister Goering pinned a "decoration" on his breast.

The elder Lindbergh, the Congressman from Minnesota, bravely devoted to the cause of the people, was a true American in the best tradition of Lincoln and Debs. He always stood on the side of the poor against the rich, for peace and against war, for democracy and against the dictatorship of the finance lords. He was a credit to the American people.

Lindbergh junior used his reputation to help the rich against the poor. He is in the service of the fascist warmongers, of Chamberlain and Hitler; he stands on the side of fascist dictatorship against the forces of peace and democracy. He is a disgrace to the American people.

* See Ferdinand Lundberg, *America's Sixty Families*, p. 212.

A Concise Encyclopedia of Bolshevism

THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

BY E. M. YAROSLAVSKY

THE Party and the Communist International have received a fine work, full of fighting spirit, a truly Bolshevik history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In it, a scholarly but at the same time popular history of Bolshevism is combined with an exposition of the fundamental teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The *Short Course in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,* written with the personal cooperation of Comrade Stalin and approved by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., is a strong weapon for the Communist Parties of all countries in the struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people, in the struggle against reaction and fascism and for the achievement of victory over world capitalism. The Soviet peoples study the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* with great interest, from it they derive new strength for the battle for communism. Millions of people in the capitalist countries will study this book and look upon it as a guide to revolutionary activity.

Interest in the *History of the C.P.S.U.* is so great that on the day of publication great crowds of people gathered before the bookshops and stalls in order to get the book as quickly as possible. It was an extraordinary spectacle, hitherto unknown in any other land. And from all quarters, from the most varied groups of the workers of the Soviet Union come letters and expressions of opinion on the *History of the C.P.S.U.* which testify to the interest, not only of the Communists but also of the masses outside the Party, the collective farmers and the Soviet intelligentsia in the history of the Party, and the appreciation with which the history has been received throughout the whole country.

That is not to be wondered at. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union plays such a decisive role in the life of the country and enjoys such authority among the millions of town and country workers, among all the workers, collective farmers, officials, students and intellectuals that interest in a work on the history of the Party, approved by the Central Committee, a work in which Comrade Stalin took a direct part, is completely understandable and justified.

The workers know that the Party of the Bolsheviks arose under the most severe conditions in pre-revolutionary Russia. Tsardom believed that there was no force in Russia which could shake its power. Yet this force was there. First, there was small circles or groups of Marxists which arose in the 'eighties of the last century, allied themselves with the workers' movement and carried socialist consciousness and enlightenment into this movement. And out of these illegal groups there arose the mighty political Party of the Bolsheviks which today leads the first, and up till now, the only socialist country of workers and peasants.

The Bolshevik Party which was created by Lenin and Stalin on the gran-

ite foundation of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory:

". . . grew and gained strength in a fight over fundamental principles waged against the petty-bourgeois parties within the working class movement . . . the Socialist-Revolutionaries (and earlier still against their predecessors, the Narodniks), the Mensheviks, Anarchists and bourgeois nationalists of all shades . . . and, within the Party itself, against the Menshevik opportunist trends—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, national-deviators and other anti-Leninist groups." (Introduction," *History of the C.P.S.U.*)

Until the great October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party was completely illegal. Only at moments, at the crests of revolutionary waves, was the Party able to win for a short time a legal press, or its representatives to appear in the reactionary Parliament, the National Duma. Concerning the period from 1903 to 1917 Lenin wrote that the Party had:

". . . passed through fifteen years (1903-17) of practical history which, in wealth of experience, has had no equal anywhere else in the world. For no other country during these fifteen years had anything even approximating this revolutionary experience, this rapid and varied succession of different forms of the movement—legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, open and underground, small circles and mass movements, parliamentary and terrorist. In no other country was there concentrated during so short a period of time such a wealth of forms, shades and methods of struggle involving *all* classes of modern society, and, moreover, of a struggle which, owing to the backwardness of the country and the heavy yoke of tsarism, was maturing with exceptional rapidity and assimilating most eagerly and successfully the corresponding 'last word' of American and European political experience." *

In actual fact, the working classes under the leadership of the Party proceeded from the purely industrial strikes of the 'nineties to the political strikes and demonstrations of 1900. In the short period from January, 1905, until December of the same year the Russian working class progressed from the "Revolt on the Knees" of January 9, 1905, passed through the political General Strike in October and the mutiny on the battle-cruiser *Potemkin* and in other sections of the army and fleet to the armed rising in December. The rising was crushed because a considerable section of the peasants still put their faith in the tsar and because a section of the soldiers and sailors allowed themselves to be used to crush the rising of the workers and of the consciously revolutionary section of the peasants by force of arms. The Revolution of 1905 suffered defeat because the working classes were not united within their own ranks. A section of the workers still followed the Mensheviks, an important section of the peasantry still followed the Narodniks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Then there began a period of the worst reaction for the revolutionary movement. Thousands were executed, fell at the hands of tsarist executioners and punitive expeditions and were tortured to death in Siberian prisons. The Bolshevik Party which before had led the attack of the working class now led its retreat also. The Party taught the working class to work and fight under the hardest circumstances of reaction and, side by side with illegal activity, to make full use for their organization of tiniest legal possibilities for agitation and propaganda.

The Bolshevik Party, under these difficult conditions, understood how to maintain the framework of its cadres, to tighten up its organization at the Prague Party Conference of 1912, to set up a Bolshevik Central Committee and to break off all formal relations still existing with the Mensheviks.

The Bolshevik Party led the revolutionary movement in the years of the imperialist war since it alone in Russia, and nearly alone in the Second International, held high the banner of interna-

* V. I. Lenin, *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, pp. 11-12, International Publishers, New York.

tionalism with honor and revolutionary zeal. It alone did not fall to the chauvinist intoxication but stood by the banner of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism, the banner of the Communist International. In blood and fire, amid the raging of the imperialist war of 1914-18, the Bolshevik Party sent out its call to arms over trenches and barbed wire entanglements to the workers and soldiers of the various nations and called on them to fraternize and turn their weapons against their own bourgeoisie.

The Bolshevik Party knew how to prepare the working masses, the soldiers and peasants for the downfall of tsardom.

From the beginning of the struggle it made fast the alliance between workers and peasants and this alliance proved itself strong enough to overthrow tsardom which in its day was the strongest citadel of European and international reaction.

After the downfall of tsardom the Russian revolution covered in the short time between February and October, 1917, a whole period of world history.

When the Bolshevik Party emerged from its illegal existence it numbered in the whole country hardly forty or fifty thousand members.

In October it had already a quarter of a million members—it led the socialist proletarian revolution to victory. In order to achieve that, it had to unmask the liberal bourgeoisie (the Cadets), the treacherous policy of compromise of the Mensheviks and of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and also the traitors in its own midst. It had to withdraw from the influence of the parties of compromise those workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors who still believed them; it had to educate the masses politically, unite them and arm them for the October rising; it had to win authority—for the socialist October Revolution was victorious under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party *alone in opposition* to all other parties—fighting against all other parties.

This victory was possible chiefly because the working class possessed a Party of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, tried and tested in two revolutions. In the two bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905 and of February-March, 1917, the masses had seen *all* parties and *all* classes in action. They were convinced in practice that only the Bolshevik Party kept faith with the revolution and the people.

* * *

How was the Bolshevik Party able to win such authority? To what circumstances did the Bolshevik Party owe its victory over so many foes? What compass guided this Party at the various times and in the most complicated situation of the struggle? What gave it the strength and assurance of victory and the ability to see its way clearly among the most complicated conditions of the struggle for the victory of the revolution and for the construction of socialist society?

This strength and security were given to the Bolshevik Party by the revolutionary teaching of Marx and Engels, extended and increased under new circumstances, under the circumstances of imperialism, of the imperialist war and the proletarian revolution by Lenin and Stalin.

"And the correctness of this—and only this—revolutionary theory has been proved not only by the experience of all countries during the entire nineteenth century but particularly by the experience of the wanderings and vacillations, the mistakes and disappointments of revolutionary thought in Russia. For almost half a century—approximately between the 'forties and 'nineties of last century—advanced thinkers in Russia, under the oppression of an unprecedented, savage and reactionary tsarism, sought eagerly for the correct revolutionary theory, following each and every 'last word' in Europe and America in this sphere with astonishing diligence and thoroughness. Russia achieved Marxism, as the only correct revolutionary theory, virtually through *suffering*, by a half century of unprecedented torments and sacrifice, of unprecedented revolutionary heroism,

incredible energy, painstaking search and study, testing in practice, disappointments, checking and comparison with European experience. Thanks to the emigration enforced by tsarism, revolutionary Russia, in the second half of the nineteenth century, possessed such a wealth of international connections and such excellent information about world forms and theories of the revolutionary movement as no other country in the world possessed." *

This unerring compass, the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, also guided the Party to the socialist revolution. It led the young country of the Soviets, the first socialist state in the world, through the fire and hardship of civil war to victory over the Russian counter-revolution and the intervention of international capital. The revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism proved itself to be the sharpest weapon in the struggle of the masses against all foes of the revolution, against the great landowners, capitalists, kulaks, wreckers, spies, against all hirelings of the surrounding capitalist countries, in the revolutionary struggle in which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union became great, strong and steeled.

Led by this revolutionary theory the Soviet people was able to break the imperialist blockade, to put an end to the war, to restore the backward and shattered industry of Russia destroyed by imperialist and civil war and to convert it into a highly developed socialist industry. Thanks to this revolutionary theory the Soviet Union became a strong fortress of the proletarian revolution, a land of flourishing socialist agriculture, of mighty industry, of high socialist culture of the masses, of continually rising material, political and cultural standards of the workers.

Led by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism this Party knew how to create a great brotherhood of nationalities in this land of many nations in which the tsarist government incited one nation against another, in which Great-Russian chauvinism and the nationalism of the oppressed nations flourished abundantly. The Bolshevik Party gave an example of how the nationalist question is to be solved, how equal conditions of development for all nations are introduced in order that their culture, socialist in content and nationalist in form, may grow.

The Bolshevik Party has trained admirable cadres of technicians, engineers and Stakhanovites who produced new averages of productivity and developed new forms of labor discipline. In this way it has shown the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist state systems.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin and Stalin, the heroic Red Army was created, the armed guardian of the proletarian revolution, the army which defends only the interests of the working people.

In this way the Bolshevik Party proved the correctness of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism which formed the granite theoretical foundation on which the Party arose, grew and became consolidated.

In the article, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," Lenin wrote:

"The teaching of Marx is all-powerful because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, providing men with a consistent view of the universe, which cannot be reconciled with any superstition, any reaction, any defense of bourgeois oppression. It is the lawful successor of the best that has been created by humanity in the nineteenth century—German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism." *

This teaching was expanded and developed by Lenin, Stalin and their pupils.

"It may be said without fear of exaggeration that since the death of Engels the great theoretician Lenin, and after Lenin, Stalin and the other disciples of Lenin, have been the only Marxists who

* *Ibid.*

* V. I. Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, p. 50, International Publishers, New York.

have advanced the Marxist theory and who have enriched it with new experience in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat." (*History of the C.P.S.U.*)

It is the peculiar good fortune of the proletarian movement that the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism has become the doctrine of the advanced working class of *all countries*, that thanks to the activity of the Bolshevik Party the great international union of the proletariat *of the whole world* has been made—the Communist International.

No persecutions of Communists, however cruel they may be, however serious may be their consequences for one or another Communist Party on many an occasion, can halt the victorious Communist movement. The history of the C.P.S.U. is a rich source of strength for the workers' parties of all countries. It does not only derive experience from three revolutions—the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905, the bourgeois-democratic February revolution of 1917 and the socialist October revolution of 1917:

"The history of the C.P.S.U. is the history of the overthrow of tsardom, of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists; it is the history of the rout of the armed foreign intervention during the Civil War; it is the history of the building of the Soviet state and of socialist society in our country." (*History of the C.P.S.U.*)

None the less, the history of the C.P.S.U. is also united with the greatest international experience. The three fundamental features of the struggle of the working class—political, industrial and theoretical—were put to the most thorough test in the course of our Party's history. All forms of the mass movement experienced an equally thorough test, from strikes and demonstrations to armed rising, from the activity of illegal organizations to the creative construction of socialist society.

During the process of its development, new horizons opened up to the Bolshevik Party, new problems on the grand scale arose which the Party well knew how to solve successfully. Every step forward enriched the arsenal of the international struggle of the proletariat against capitalism and for socialism. *Bolshevism became the theory and tactics of all workers' parties.* Just as the teaching of Marx is all-powerful because it is correct, the history of the C.P.S.U. shows that the theory of Marxism-Leninism is all-powerful because:

"The power of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it enables the Party to find its direction in a situation, to understand the inner connection of the events going on around it, to foresee the course of events and to perceive not only how and in what direction events are developing in the present, but how and in what direction they must tend in the future.

"Only a Party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward.

"On the other hand a party which has not mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory is compelled to grope its way, acts without assurance and is unable to lead the working class forward."

In preparing the *Short Course in the History of the C.P.S.U.* the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. wished to give a uniform guiding line to the history of the Bolshevik Party, free from the arbitrary interpretations of any individual author writing on the history of the Party; it wished to give an interpretation, thoroughly tested and recognized by the Party, of historical facts and experiences. These historical facts and experiences are presented in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, while earlier books on the history of the C.P.S.U. were not seldom superficial and disjointed narrations of events which were not at all or falsely illuminated by theory. In these books the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism were not laid down. In the practical work of the propagandists and teachers of the history of the C.P.S.U. there often arose incongruities between the history of the Party, Leninism, and the teachings of Marx and Engels.

The History of the C.P.S.U. disposes of this incongruity. It points anew to the doctrine of Leninism but shows at the same time that Lenin's teaching is inseparably bound up with the doctrine of Marx and Engels, and that one cannot be a good Leninist unless one is familiar with the fundamental works, the teachings of Marx and Engels. The *History* makes an end of the shallowness and over-simplification which were characteristic of the earlier textbooks on the history of the C.P.S.U. For example, in these textbooks the Party's way was not seldom shown as an unbroken progress from victory to victory without defeats or retreats at any stage of development. The Short Course does away with these tendencies which are harmful to Bolshevist education. This book shows the reasons for the defeat of the Revolution in 1905 as well as the difficulties of the period of the Brest-Litovsk peace, it shows why and how the Party had to make a retreat in the period of reaction and in the first period of the New Economic Policy.

In this way the history of the C.P.S.U. arms Party members with ability to overcome difficulties and to proceed from temporary defeats to glory. The international workers' movement can derive rich experience and valuable teaching for itself from the history of the C.P.S.U. The most important doctrine is always to be in close connection with the masses, to lead them forward in periods of change, not to lament at the moment of defeat, not to abandon oneself to moods of depression, pessimism and irresponsibility, to continue the work under any reactionary government, if necessary, to carry on illegally and cautiously continue the work, to employ new methods in the struggle and to know that the forces of Communism are growing.

And the other important lesson of the *History of the C.P.S.U.* is not to be made conceited by victory, not to lose vigilance if the foe is not yet completely destroyed, to fight against all suggestions of compromise and conciliation with the enemy, against Social-Democratism, opportunism, against the Trotskyites and Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists, to eradicate from our midst all opportunist forbearance and all attitudes of compromise with tendencies inimical to Marxism-Leninism.

The *History of the C.P.S.U.* ensures a high theoretical level and abolishes theoretical backwardness of Party members. It is for this reason that so much attention is paid to theoretical questions. These questions of theory are introduced in the first chapter. In spite of the great concentration of the *History*, there are thoroughly treated in it not only all the fundamental theoretical works of Lenin and Stalin but also a series of theoretical works by Marxs and Engels. In the *History* there is not only an account of the course of revolutionary events and the life of the Party since the formation of the C.P.S.U., but also there are presented the main theses of Marxist-Leninist theory, of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and of dialectical and historical materialism.

The *History of the C.P.S.U.* is Marxism-Leninism in practice. In order to use this weapon correctly one must understand it thoroughly. Therefore this book presents the foundations of dialectical and historical materialism. Dialectical and historical materialism provides the clue to understanding the laws according to which society develops.

"Hence this clue to the study of the laws of history, of society must not be sought in men's minds, in the views and ideas of society, but in the mode of production practised by society in any given historical period; it must be sought in the economic life of society.

"Hence the prime task of historical science is to study and disclose the laws of production, the laws of development of the productive forces and of the relations of production, the laws of economic development of society.

"Hence, if the Party of the proletariat is to be a real party, it must above all acquire a knowledge of the laws of development of production, of the laws of economic development of society.

"Hence, if it is not to err in policy, the Party of the proletariat must both in drafting its program and in its practical activities proceed primarily from the laws of development of production, from the laws of economic development of society."

This book gives to every Marxist the most essential knowledge of political economy. The *History* shows what gigantic work was done by the Bolshevik Party at the front and in the building of socialism. One can thus say that this book is a concise encyclopedia of Bolshevik knowledge.

* * *

The first Marxist group in Russia, the "Emancipation of Labor" group, organized by Plekhanov, Axelrod, Vera Zasulich and others, was not bound up with the workers' movement. They can claim undisputed credit for having spread Marxism in Russia, as there was as yet no workers' party. To them also must be given the credit of striking the first blow at the Narodniks.

But only with the birth of the "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class," led by Lenin, did there appear at the head of the workers' movement an organization bearing in it the seed of the future Bolshevik Party, the seed of the Communist International.

Lenin, Stalin and their pupils realized the dream of Marx and Engels—they created a real Communist International. The road to this lay via the defeat of the various anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist groups and parties. These parties not infrequently disguised and masked themselves in a cloak of Marxism. It is well known that the Russian Mensheviks who fled before the proletarian revolution were supported by the leaders of the Second International (and are so supported up to the present day).

Lenin's fight against the Economists, the Legal Marxists, the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Anarchists was, from the beginning, of great international importance. *And the whole experience of the history of the C.P.S.U. is, beyond doubt, of international importance* though not in the sense that the workers' parties of other countries must copy the examples of the activity of the C.P.S.U.—in other situations the teaching of Marxism-Leninism must naturally be differently applied. The experience of the work of the Bolshevik Party before the socialist proletarian October Revolution is of great significance to the workers' parties which must work illegally, and the spread of fascism and increase of reaction forces the Communist Parties and other workers' parties in many countries into illegality.

For even in 1917, after the fall of tsardom, the Bolshevik Party had to lead a sort of semi-legal existence, persecuted by the Kerensky government which was supported by the parties of compromise, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The Bolshevik Party was able to conquer because it did not admit opportunism, but carried on a relentless struggle against all its manifestations, because it was quite implacable against the compromisers and defeatists, because its attitude to the bourgeoisie and towards all reactionary forces was revolutionary, because it mastered the progressive theory of the workers' movement, because it understood and still understands how to criticize its own mistakes, because it is closely bound up with the masses. That is the lesson taught by the history of the C.P.S.U.

Take, for example, Lenin's activity after the Second Party Conference, when the opportunists, perturbed by the successes of Bolshevism, united, and, supported by the leaders of the Second International, led the campaign against Lenin. In his article "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward" Lenin exposed the whole harmfulness of the opportunist vacillations. He knew how to gather the majority of Party committees round the revolutionary program of action which he developed in the pamphlet *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution.*

The Bolshevik current was victorious in the working class because the Party *knew* how to convince the workers of the

correctness of its teaching, and of the opportunism of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The Bolshevik Party was able to win because it was in close contact with the masses, because it knew how to develop general agitation and thorough theoretical propaganda. It won because it was implacable against the Mensheviks, against the Leftist phrasemongers in its own midst (the so-called Otzovists), against the Trotskyites who hid their hostility like chameleons under the most varied colors.

Persistence and tenacity in pursuit of a goal is another memorable characteristic of the Bolsheviks. This sign, this characteristic of the Bolshevik Party, runs like a red thread through the whole history of the C.P.S.U. No persecutions in the Stolypin period of reaction were able to prevent the Bolsheviks from getting control of all kinds of movements of the workers, from penetrating deep into all organizations through which it was possible to exert influence on the workers and peasants. Nor were these persecutions able to prevent them from making use of the tribune of the National Duma as a revolutionary tribune from which they threw their revolutionary watchwords to the masses of the workers over the heads of the reactionary deputies, priests, great landlords and capitalists. No persecution of the workers' press at the time of reaction was able to prevent the Bolshevik Party from spreading Bolshevik teaching among the masses. Later in 1917, no slanders were so strong that the Bolsheviks did not render them ineffectual, and found the way to the masses past all obstacles.

* * *

One can say that the theory of Marxism-Leninism is the sharpest and best-tried weapon of the Bolsheviks. Lenin always underlined the fact that the Bolsheviks are the guardians of revolutionary traditions, the revolutionary heirs of Marx and Engels. But we do not preserve it in the way that the custodian of a museum preserves an ancient parchment. We keep it as a fighter keeps his weapon. We perfect this weapon, we hold it ever ready for the struggle.

The revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels would be of no help to the Party of the working class if the Bolsheviks looked on it as a finally established dogma. Lenin wrote in 1913, in the article already quoted, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism":

"The history of philosophy and that of social science shows with perfect clearness that there is nothing in Marxism resembling 'sectarianism,' in the sense of a secluded, fossilized doctrine originating somewhere away from the high road of development of world civilization. On the contrary, the genius of Marx manifested itself in that he provided the answers to questions which had already been put by the advanced brains of humanity."*

The *History of the C.P.S.U.* shows that one may not conceive of the theory of Marx and Engels, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism as something petrified, static or dogmatic. For the Bolsheviks the revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is not a dogma but a guide to action.

"The Marxist-Leninist theory must not be regarded as a collection of dogmas, as a catechism, as a symbol of faith, and the Marxists themselves as pedants and sticklers. The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working-class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of communist society. And as a science it does not and cannot stand still, but develops and perfects itself. Clearly, in development it is bound to become enriched by new experience and new knowledge, and some of its propositions and conclusions are bound to change in the course of time, are bound to be replaced by new conclusions and propositions corresponding to the new historical conditions." (*History of the C.P.S.U.*)

The *History of the C.P.S.U.* gives a

* V. I. Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, p. 50. International Publisers, New York.

series of examples to show that Lenin and Stalin drew new conclusions from new revolutionary experiences. Lenin developed the *new theory of the socialist proletarian revolution because the old theory of the possibility of the victory of the socialist revolution at the same time in all countries did not apply under new conditions.* The new period of capitalism, the period of imperialism, has shown that *the victory of socialism in one country is possible.* Marx and Engels taught that on the day following the proletarian revolution, after the proletariat had taken possession of the means of production, the state begins to die out. In so doing, Marx and Engels were proceeding from the possibility of a victory of socialism in all capitalist countries at the same time. However, the proletarian revolution was completed in one single country. The young Soviet state, encircled by capitalist neighbors on five-sixths of the earth, not only could not relinquish its functions as a state but had to strengthen them still more—the functions of defending the country, of suppressing the exploiting classes, the function of defending its borders, its social system and the life and property of the citizens of the socialist society. The state has not died out in these twenty-one years of the life of the U.S.S.R. Its functions as a state will remain as long as capitalist encirclement remains.

The *History of the Party* characterizes two kinds of wars: *the just war and the unjust war.*

"The Bolsheviks are not opposed to *every kind* of war. They are only opposed to wars of conquest, imperialist wars. The Bolsheviks hold that there are two kinds of war:

"(a) *Just* wars, that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack, and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and

"(b) *Unjust* wars, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.

"The Bolsheviks support wars of the first kind. As to wars of the second kind, the Bolsheviks maintain that a resolute struggle must be waged against them to the point of revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government." (*History of the C.P.S.U.*)

We know of many examples of just wars and of unjust wars before the imperialist war of 1914-18 as well as after this war. Today the fascist robbers are waging a war of conquest, occupy the territories of other countries and enslave foreign peoples. The fascist aggressors overthrew Ethiopia, occupied Austria and dismembered Czechoslovakia, they wage imperialist war in Spain and China. The heroic people of Spain and China are waging a just war against the fascist invaders, they defend their independence, their freedom and the territorial integrity of their countries.

A whole number of such facts presented by the *History of the C.P.S.U.* prove the correctness of the principle that the Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a guide to action, that dogmatic Marxism is not seldom a cloak for opportunists and for their activities against the proletariat.

"The Bolshevik Party could not have won in October, 1917, if its foremost men had not mastered the theory of Marxism, if they had not learned to regard this theory as a guide to action, if they had not learned to advance Marxist theory by enriching it with the new experience of the class struggle of the proletariat."

In the work *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder* Lenin answers the question, in the struggle against what enemies within the working class movement did Bolshevism grow, gain strength and become steeled.

"First of all, and principally, in the struggle against opportunism, which, in 1914, definitely grew into social-chauvinism and definitely went over to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. This was naturally the principal enemy of Bolshevism in the working class move-

ment. This enemy remains the principal enemy also on an international scale."*

But at the same time the Bolshevik Party struggled within the workers' movement *against petty-bourgeois revolutionism:*

". . . which smacks of, or borrows something from, anarchism, and which differs in all essentials from the conditions and requirements of the sustained proletarian class struggle. For Marxists it is well established theoretically—and the experience of all European revolutions and revolutionary movements has fully confirmed it—that the small proprietor (a social type that is very widely represented in many European countries), who, under capitalism, suffers constant oppression and very often an incredibly sharp and rapid worsening of conditions of life and even ruin, easily becomes extremely revolutionary, but is incapable of displaying perseverance, ability to organize, discipline and firmness. The petty-bourgeois, 'furious' over the horrors of capitalism, is a social phenomenon which, like anarchism, is characteristic of all capitalist countries. The instability of such revolutionism, its barrenness, its ability to become swiftly transformed into submission, apathy, phantasy, and even into a 'mad' infatuation with one or another bourgeois 'fad' —all this is a matter of common knowledge."**

Ever since its foundation the Party fought against those tendencies within the workers' movement which were inimical to the proletarian revolution, against opportunism and petty-bourgeois revolutionism whose feeding grounds were on the one hand the million-strong masses of the petty bourgeoisie, both agricultural and urban, and on the other hand the higher ranks of the workers' aristocracy, corrupted by the imperialist bourgeoisie. Under capitalism the various shades of opportunism which fought against the Party of revolutionary Marxism, against the Bolsheviks, were of use to the ruling classes.

A great part in the growth of opportunist deviations of individual members of the Party and of single groups certainly was and is played by the low level of theoretical development, *the lack of understanding* of the laws of social development, of the laws of the class struggle, ignorance of the means, ways and methods of the revolutionary struggle.

The Bolshevik Party grew and became strong because it cleansed itself of such unreliable elements, of casual supporters, of the agents of the classes opposed to the proletarian revolution who had penetrated into the Party. It freed itself from them by frequent Party purges, by the liquidation of the opportunists, by the driving away of all individual members or whole groups which had begun to go the way of the opportunists. The struggle against the Economists, against the Mensheviks who after the Second Party Conference took the place of the Economists, against liquidators from the Right and from the "Left," against the Trotskyites, against the "Left Communists," against the "Democratic Centralism" group, against the anarcho-syndicalist workers' opposition, against the bourgeois nationalists, etc., was a necessary precondition to the victory of the revolution and of socialism.

The experience of the history of the C.P.S.U. has shown that the struggle against Bolshevism does not relax with the furtherance of the struggle for Communism and with the strengthening of the socialist state but on the contrary assumes even sharper forms. The opportunists, who lost the social basis for their activity in the Soviet Union because the vast masses took irrevocably the road to socialism, proceed now to the methods taken by enemies of the Soviets and take the road of counter-revolution, espionage and wrecking, ally themselves with foreign intelligence services, conclude agreements with imperialist states whose instructions they carry out and begin to betray and sell the country of socialism. For this reason:

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* V. I. Lenin, *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, p. 17. International Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*

"The history of the Party further teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst, it cannot preserve unity and discipline within its ranks, it cannot perform the role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution or its role as the builder of the new, socialist society.

"It may seem to some that the opportunist element within the Party is overrated. But that is absolutely wrong. Opportunism in our midst is like an ulcer within a healthy organism, and must not be tolerated. The Party is the leading detachment of the working class, its advanced fortress, its general staff. Sceptics, opportunists, capitulators and traitors cannot be tolerated on the general staff of the working class. If while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie there are capitulators and traitors on its own general staff, within its own fortress, it will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly, such a struggle can only end in defeat. The easiest way to capture such a fortress is from within. To attain victory, the Party of the working class, its advanced fortress must first be purged of capitulators, deserters, strikebreakers and traitors." (*History of the C.P.S.U.*)

The Bolshevik Party has fulfilled this mighty task. It has defeated all those parties of compromise and all anti-proletarian and anti-Bolshevist groups which during the struggle have gone the way of counter-revolution, the way of conspiracy with the fascist warmongers, the way of terror, of wrecking and of espionage. In so doing it has done a service, not only to the peoples of the Soviet Union but also to the international proletariat, to all anti-fascists and to all sincere friends of peace. Only reactionary leaders of the Second International including "politicians" who stand convicted of their connection with the German intelligence service, such as the Menshevik Dan, protect spies and agents of foreign Secret Services, who would bring about the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

In the Introduction to the *History* it is rightly pointed out that:

". . . the history of the struggle of our Party against all enemies of Marxism-Leninism, against all enemies of the working people, helps us *to master* Bolshevism and sharpens our political vigilance."

At the same time, the *History* points out that the source of opportunist deviations is sometimes the low theoretical level of Party members and hence we draw the conclusion that if a Communist wishes to avoid the danger of falling into opportunist errors he must first of all master Bolshevist theory and provide for his knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and, second, strengthen his revolutionary vigilance so as not to get caught by the enemy.

The Bolshevik Party was always strong because of its connection with the masses. This connection arose in that period of development when the "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class," led by Lenin, proceeded from propaganda within small circles to *mass agitation* and to the leadership of the mass movement and strikes. Lenin taught that the Bolshevik Party must learn to command all forms of the revolutionary struggle, must understand, when necessary, how to enter into all classes of society, in the first instance, naturally, the revolutionary and democratic elements of society.

Therefore, the Bolshevik Party not only knew how to develop its work in the cities among the workers but also in the village among the peasants. It knew how to win over the democratic elements in the army and navy and among students and intellectuals.

The Party consolidated this connection with the masses at the time of the Revolution of 1905. It also preserved the connection under the most difficult circumstances of reaction in the time between the first two revolutions. And beginning with the year 1917, the Party developed this connection on a gigantic scale. Without this connection with the

masses the Party would never have been able to win the Civil War.

Recounting the reasons for the victory of the Red Army, the *History of the C.P.S.U.*, in the section entitled: "How and why the Soviet country overcame the united forces of English, French, Japanese and Polish intervention and of the counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie, landlords and White Guardists in Russia," explains that:

"The Red Army was victorious because the policy of the Soviet government for which the Red Army was fighting was a right policy, one that corresponded to the interests of the people, and because the people understood and realized that it was the right policy, their own policy, and supported it unreservedly. . . .

"The Red Army was victorious because it was absolutely loyal and faithful to its people, for which reason the people loved and supported it and looked upon it as its own army. . . .

"The Red Army was victorious because the Soviet government was able to muster the whole rear, the whole country, to serve the needs of the front. . . .

"The Red Army was victorious because its leading core, both in the front and in the rear, was the Bolshevik Party, united in its solidarity and discipline, strong in its revolutionary spirit and readiness for any sacrifice in the common cause, and unsurpassed in its ability to organize millions and to lead them properly in complex situations."

The Red Army was victorious because it knew how, in its ranks, to forge military leaders of a new type, because the most prominent men of the Party occupied themselves with the political education of the Red Army, because it counted among its numbers such excellent organizers and leaders as the war commissars.

The Red Army was victorious because excellent Bolsheviks operated underground in the rear of the White Army.

The Red Army was victorious because Soviet Russia in its fight against White Guard counter-revolution and foreign intervention did not stand alone, because the struggle of the Soviet power and its successes evoked the sympathy and help of the proletariat of the whole world.

This victory was possible because the overwhelming masses of the workers and peasants, in spite of all hardships of the Civil War, understood the correctness of the policy of the Bolshevik Party and loved this Party and supported it.

This was possible because the Bolshevik Party led the struggle for the victory of true democracy, the proletarian, the Soviet democracy.

While in a whole series of countries the foundations of democracy are destroyed by the onslaught of fascism, the true Soviet democracy in the Soviet country, guaranteed by the Stalin Constitution, pervades the whole life of the Soviet Union.

The history of the C.P.S.U. points the way to true democracy. In this democracy, the power of the exploiting classes, the power of the parasites is eliminated. In this democracy, classes are abolished. In this democracy the contradictions between intellectual and physical labor are done away with. This democracy grows nearer every day to the victory of communism, in which the whole activity of society will be conducted on the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The titanic struggle of a nation of a hundred and seventy million people for communism is a noble, exalting spectacle. At the head of this struggle stands the vanguard of the international proletariat—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. On its work lies the splendor of the fame of heroic deeds, its way is full of optimism and confidence in the final victory of communism.

The banner of the proletarian revolution, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is in strong and trustworthy hands. A famous standard bearer carries it, one of the founders of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, the friend and teacher of the Soviet workers and of all oppressed peoples in the world—Comrade Stalin.

The *History of the C.P.S.U.* tells of all these things.

The Working Class and the Nation

BY PETER WIEDEN

I. THE WORKING CLASS TAKES ITS PLACE AT THE HEAD OF THE NATION

GERMAN fascism has dismembered the Czechoslovak republic and forced the freedom-loving Czech people under its yoke. The reactionary sections of the Czech bourgeoisie hasten to fulfill the wishes of the German tyrants and to confront their own people as slave-drivers in the service of German imperialism. They who a few years ago were not prepared to consider the justified claims of the national minorities were ready to deliver up their nation to the insolent blackmail of Hitler and his accomplices with indecent haste. But against this lack of dignity on the part of the capitulators stand the unbroken dignity and unsullied honor of the common people, determined one day to settle scores with its violators in the spirit of the Hussites.

The will of that mighty popular movement which swept the Hodza government away overnight and demanded that Czechoslovakia be defended to the last drop of blood is still invincibly alive in the Czech people. Unforgettable are those days of national and democratic unity of the popular masses which preceded the surrender of the government. It can never be forgotten that the working class, full of energy and purpose, put itself at the head of the people, that the Communist Party incarnated the honor and dignity of the Czech nation when the leaders of the other parties retreated, checkmated and helpless. *In the hour of greatest danger the people looked upon the class-conscious workers, the Communist tribunes, as their natural leaders.* The bourgeois politicians who always claimed to be the legitimate spokesmen of the nation, who always described the Communists as enemies of the nation, have proved themselves in the hour of direst peril unable to be the leader of their people. It was the workers and in the first place the Communists who took the lead and, followed by the masses of the people, advocated the defense of national independence against the fascist invaders. It is in the working class that the great historical traditions of the Czech people, the heritage of Huss, Ziska and Masaryk, live on. It is the working class which guarantees that the Czech nation will rise again and in a not too distant future will complete what the pioneers of bourgeois democracy and of national emancipation left unfinished.

But not only in Czechoslovakia was it the working class and its Communist Party which in the most fateful day gave a lead to the nation. In Austria, too, it was the working class and in the first place the Communists who united the people in the struggle for national independence and who were the most resolute defenders of the freedom, dignity and honor of the nation.

It was the complacent bourgeois "patriots," not the men of the government who made such a show of their Austrian patriotism, but the oppressed, persecuted and proscribed workers who in the most difficult circumstances mobilized the people for the defense of their national independence and who were unconditionally determined to save the Austrian nation from Prussian alien domination by armed force if need be.

In Spain and in China the workers and, above all, the Communists are the most faithful, reliable and unselfish defenders of national independence. The Spanish Communists have not only worked miracles of heroism on all fronts side by side with their Socialist, Anarchist and Republican comrades in the struggle—they have also spared no effort in the struggle against traitors, saboteurs, intriguers and muddleheads to bring about and strengthen the unity of the Spanish people and of the nation. The Chinese Communists have dismissed from their thoughts the memory of the unspeakable sufferings and persecution which they endured at the hands of the Kuomintang because by so doing they thought to serve the interests of the nation. With incomparable strength of mind they subordinated everything to the interests of the nation. The Chinese people rightly regard them as the most perfect incarnation of its national struggle for liberty.

We can observe the same development in all countries. In the struggle against fascist imperialism and its reactionary accomplices the working class and its Communist Party are the only consistent defenders of national independence. The modern nations were born in the process of the bourgeois revolution. The reactionary bourgeoisie is betraying the national interests together with the *whole* heritage of the bourgeois revolution. It is the working class and its Communist Party which take over the legacies of the bourgeois revolution, maintain them against the traitors and develop them to a richer, fuller life. It is not a new "*tactic*" which we see reflected in the relations of the working class to the nation but a *historical development.*

Three years ago Comrade Dimitroff told the delegates to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International:

"... *We are concerned with every important question, not only of the present and the future, but also of the past of our own peoples.* We Communists do not pursue a narrow policy based on the craft interests of the workers. We are not narrow-minded trade union functionaries, or leaders of medieval guilds of handicraftsmen and journeymen. We are the representatives of the class interests of the most important, the greatest class of modern society—the working class, to whose destiny it falls to free mankind from the sufferings of the capitalist system, the class which in one-sixth of the world has already cast off the yoke of capitalism and constitutes the ruling class. . . .

"We Communists are the *irreconcilable opponents, on principle,* of bourgeois nationalism in all its forms. But we *are not supporters of national nihilism,* and should never act as such. . . .

"It goes without saying that it is necessary *everywhere and on all occasions* to expose before the masses and prove to them concretely that the fascist bourgeoisie, on the pretext of defending general national interests, is conducting its egotistical policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people, as well as robbing and enslaving other nations. But we must not *confine ourselves* to this. We must at the same time prove by the very struggle of the working class and the actions of the Communist Parties that the proletariat, in rising against every manner of bondage and national oppression, is the *only* true fighter for national freedom and the independence of the people.

"The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against its native exploiters and oppressors are not in contradiction to the interests of a free and happy future of the nation. On the contrary, the socialist revolution will signify the *salvation of the nation* and will open up to it the road to loftier heights. By *the very fact* of building at the present time its class organizations and consolidating its positions, by the very fact of defending democratic rights and liberties against fascism, by the very fact of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation. . . .

"Communists belonging to an oppressed, dependent nation cannot combat chauvinism successfully among the people of their own nation if they *do not at the same time* show in practice, in the mass movement, that they actually struggle for the liberation of their nation from the alien yoke. And again, on

the other hand, the Communists of an oppressing nation cannot do what is necessary to educate the toiling masses of their nation in the spirit of internationalism *without waging* a resolute struggle against the oppressor policy of their 'own' bourgeoisie, for the right of complete self-determination for the nations kept in bondage by it. If they do not do this, they likewise do not make it easier for the toilers of the oppressed nation to overcome their nationalist prejudices."*

The working class, the most important and most numerous class of modern society, is *the most important section of every nation, the section that points towards the future.* Hence the working class cannot be indifferent to the fate of the nation. On the other hand the nation cannot prosper, cannot develop its full powers in freedom without and against the working class. In this period of decaying capitalism, of fascist imperialism, the issue is to save all nations from servitude, slavery, barbarism. The nations must be preserved from the fate of degenerating into mere herds of slaves, of losing their right of self-determination, their democratic liberties and with them the prerequisites of national development. They must be saved from being thrown back several centuries. In the struggle against fascism and its reactionary accomplices, in the struggle for true democracy, for a true rule of the people the working class shows all nations the road they must tread if they are to save themselves from threatening decay.

II. THE CONSPIRACY OF MUNICH

When in 1797 Napoleon invaded Austria at the head of a French revolutionary army, an Austrian aristocrat, Colloredo, declared: "I can satisfy the advancing enemy by ceding a province, but to arm the people would mean upsetting the throne."

The same arguments were used after the terrible routs of Jena and Auerstaedt by the representatives of Prussian feudalism in opposing the rising of the people advocated by von Stein and Gneisenau. "Better three battles of Auerstaedt than the abolition of patrimonial jurisdiction" (the jurisdiction of the Prussian junkers over the enslaved peasants) was the slogan of the Prussian royal court. The ruling classes of the decaying feudal society were in a panic at the mere thought of a national rising: they saw before them the example of France where the national rising went hand in hand with the revolution. They were prepared to sacrifice the country rather than allow the burghers, the peasants and the artisans to unite into a nation, rather than let the oppressed masses of the people develop into a nation through the struggle for freedom and independence.

The same panic fear of any national rising, of any united effort of the popular masses in the struggle for freedom and independence was in the hearts of the four politicians who met in Munich to divide up Europe. "Rather surrender to German fascism than have a People's Front" was the principle on which Chamberlain and Daladier acted. They saw in Czechoslovakia a mighty popular movement for the defense of democracy and national independence. They saw in Spain the struggle of the united people against fascist intervention. Their ears were tingling with the ring of the *Internationale* sung by French workers and peasants who were joining the colors. They were profoundly alarmed at the growing power of attraction exercised on the mass of the people by the Soviet Union, in which the highest political and moral unity of the people has become a reality. So they decided to let Czechoslovakia be dismembered, to assist in the strangulation of the Spanish republic and deliver up the nations of Europe to the tender mercies of German imperialism in order to prevent the national struggles for liberty against fascism from getting the upper hand.

The Munich plot showed clearly that the reactionary bourgeoisie was quite de-

* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, pp. 78-82. International Publishers, New York.

termined to cancel the results of the bourgeois revolutions in Europe and to conjure up a new age of despotism. As the princes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries bartered away provinces, handed over nations like herds of cattle to a new "owner" and changed the map by the force of arms or secret agreements as the fancy took them, so did the plotters of Munich conclude their dirty deal behind the backs and against the wishes of the people. Imperialism which in the past divided up the earth outside Europe is now proceeding to regard and treat the European nations as if they were colonial peoples. First Chamberlain "ceded" Austria t Hitler Germany by a secret agreement, about which transaction the Austrian people was consulted no more than the Senegalese or the Zulus were consulted of yore.

And now Chamberlain and Daladier have "ceded" the greater part of Czechoslovakia to Hitler Germany, Poland and Hungary and have given up the rest to German domination. That matters would not rest there has already been announced: the four plotters of Munich would like to allot themselves the powers of a board of directors over all Europe, of a board of directors who buy and sell nations as if they were parcels of shares, and who regard nations merely as attributes of some territory which is bought and sold wholesale or retail. In the eighteenth century the German princes sent out their press gangs to hunt men and then sold the unhappy captives as "human goods" to the highest bidder; the trade in men carried on by Chamberlain and Daladier is even more extensive and horrible—they deliver up whole nations to the knife.

The reactionary conspiracy is directed not only against the independence and right of self-determination of the small nations but also against the great nations whose spokesmen Hitler and Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier claim to be. *Fundamental interests of the French nation were sacrificed in Munich.* The men of the French revolution would turn in their graves if they knew how cavalierly their epigoni treat the reputation and security of France. With Czechoslovakia France gave up not only her most faithful ally in Europe but also lost for a considerable time to come the possibility of gaining the confidence of any state. The Czech legionnaires who publicly consigned their French war decorations to the garbage-bin only expressed in a drastic form what the small nations of Europe felt towards *this* French government. And as if that were not enough, Daladier hurries to hand over the Pyrenees to the German and Italian fascists and thus draws the noose tighter around the neck of the French nation.

Will the French bourgeoisie be also prepared to hand over Alsace-Lorraine to Hitler and Savoy to Mussolini if the fascist dictators demand it? The dictators will certainly make such demands if France is not strong and if the united French nation does not face squarely up to the fascist blackmailers and the reactionary traitors. But it was not only the interests of the French people which were sacrificed in Munich; the interests of the British people suffered as well. The weakening of France weakens Britain as well. The strengthening of Hitler Germany not only forces the British people to pay for increased armaments but also brings them nearer to a world war. For the time being Chamberlain may fob off his fascist proteges by "ceding" the territory of other countries and nations to them—but one day the fascist beast will bite at the hand that fed it with the flesh and blood of foreign states and peoples. When that happens, the reactionary British bourgeoisie will try to make the British people, the British workers pay the cost of the "friendship" with Hitler Germany.

The reactionary bourgeoisie hates and fears the freedom of the people. It will gladly sacrifice all national interests if by so doing it succeeds in weakening the people and defeating the working class. "Better a weak France than a strong French people" is the slogan of the reactionary French bourgeoisie. The

two hundred families hope that in a weak France constantly menaced by German and Italian fascism it will be easier for them to deal with the French people. Then they will shout all the louder that France cannot afford the "luxury" of social legislation and of the class struggle, that France needs a "government of the strong hand," that France must adapt herself to the regimes of her neighbors, etc. They will then maintain with even greater emphasis the untruth that democracy alone was responsible for the weakening of France. They will say that France needs an "authoritarian" regime if it is to be proof against all attacks.

The Munich plot was the prelude to a large-scale attack on democracy, on the People's Front, on the working class. The betrayal of national interests is a move directed straight against the working class, that most important and largest class of modern society.

Fascism boasts aloud that it has made the German and Italian nations great. In the same way a poisonous swelling might boast of having made the limb great on which it preys. *The fact that Mussolini betrayed the interests of the Italian nation is obvious.* The conquest of Ethiopia was paid for by the surrender to Hitler Germany. Ethiopia is no gain to the Italian people but only entails more sacrifices for it—but the troops of Hitler on the Brenner Pass constitute a permanent menace to Italian independence. The shadow of German imperialism lies over Italy and even fascist circles admit with increasing alarm and disgust that Italy is becoming less and less of an *ally* and more and more of a *subordinate* to Hitler Germany.

But that is merely a part, and not the greatest part at that, of the monstrous betrayal of the interests of the nations perpetrated by fascism. *Under the yoke of fascism the nations wither and fall into a fearful state of decay.* German fascism has occupied Austria and dismembered Czechoslovakia; it has increased the territory and the population of the German Empire. Germany appears to have grown in extent, as the obese increase in girth, but in the bloated body the life of the German nation is being smothered. Each new conquest is a new heavy burden on the German people. Each new conquest brought in its train increased oppression, lengthened hours of labor, more intense speed-up, increased compulsory "donations" for the Nazi funds, etc., and a strengthening of the state machinery of coercion. *With the increasing compass of the German Reich we see increasing the extent of the slavery, the oppression and the degradation of the German nation by fascist tyranny.*

Gneisenau, one of those who roused the German nation to the struggle against the alien rule of Napoleon, wrote in his essay "The Freedom of the Rear": "Every nation must honor itself and should not tolerate in its midst conditions which degrade it in the eyes of other nations." Fascism is a system of conditions which not only degrade the German nation in the eyes of other peoples but which also in actual fact induce a progressive decay, an alarming degeneration and destruction of the German nation itself.

This degeneration and destruction of the nation through fascism become most obvious if one calls to mind the revolutionary origin of the modern nations.

III. THE BIRTH OF MODERN NATIONS

The nations of our time are the offspring of the bourgeois revolution. Their coming into being was, of course, not a single act but the result of a lengthy historical process. *The development of the nation was at the same time the development of democracy, of the self-determination of the people.* The complete amalgamation of various tribes and nationalities into a nation is effected only in the fire of bourgeois-democratic revolutions. The dominant forces of medieval feudal society, nobility, church and crown, are supernational and anti-national. The struggles of the urban burghers and the peasants against the feudal lords were the first national movements. It is from these movements that a united

speech of the people developed out of the local dialects in opposition to the Latin of the church. It is from these movements that we see emerging the idea of a democratic alliance of various cities and provinces against their feudal oppressors and frequently also against an alien domination. These movements raised ever louder the demand for a common law, for a uniform taxation, for a strong central power which was to put an end to the intolerable privileges of the feudal oppressors. *The foundations of the contemporary nations were laid in the struggle for the democratic liberties of the people.* Unity of the people against its oppressors—such is the vital principle of every nation.

It was only the development of capitalism which, of necessity, brought about also the possibility of the amalgamation of the mass of the people into a nation. Rising capitalism was a mighty revolutionary force. It burst the narrow bounds of the cities and provinces. It shook the customs barriers, it undermined the special privileges, arbitrary taxation, all the warren of rights, ordinances and hereditary claims by which feudalism prevented the development of productive forces and stunted the growth of commodity production and exchange. With the assistance of the people, adolescent capitalism tore down the crumbling structure of feudal society and created the space in which the burghers, peasants and artisans, the inhabitants of various provinces and the members of various classes, until then separated from each other by the hundredfold barriers of feudalism, could unite to form a nation.

France was the country in which a nation was developed earlier and in clearer shape than in many other countries. The development of the French nation was favored by a variety of circumstances; by the natural resources of the land, by its advantageous geographic position, by the partial preservation of Roman culture in the Middle Ages, by the early inception of centralization, by the alliance between the crown and the urban bourgeoisie, etc. The line of historical progress in France is not so tangled and irregular as in Germany for instance. Hence it is expedient to demonstrate the general development by the example of France. The laws of social development, which are valid everywhere, have found a particularly rich and instructive expression in France.

Despite the relatively high degree of centralization and despite the relatively advanced development of capitalism, prerevolutionary France was very far from being a united entity. Though national development was comparatively advanced, there was yet no French nation in the proper sense of the word. Mirabeau described the France of Louis XVI not without justification as a "formless heap of disunited people."

The frontiers of France were not defined. German princes and bishops exercised their feudal rights in French territory. More than one locality was subject to several feudal lords at the same time: to the French king, to the German emperor and to some great nobleman on top of that. Many provinces such as Provence, the Dauphiné, the Bearn, Brittany claimed special privileges and made it quite clear to the king that they regarded him merely as a feudal overlord and that their connection with France was only a conditional one. In the Bearn the question is raised: "How far is it proper that we should cease to be Bearnese and more or less turn into Frenchmen?" In the complaints of the estates (*cahiers*), presented to the crown in 1789, we find reflected the national disunity of the French kingdom. National unity was achieved only in the fire of the revolution.

This "formless heap of disunited peoples," this confusion of provinces with historical privileges and ancient constitutions, of nationalities which were often unable to understand the dialect of their neighbors, of governments, generalities, sees, precincts, etc., was turned into a united nation through the struggle for uniform democratic rights and liberties. Democracy was the link that united them. *Democratic self-determination roused in*

the mass of the people the consciousness of being a nation. It was the armed struggle of the people against the reactionary enemies attacking it from outside and striving to destroy its independence which strengthened and steeled the nation. The French revolution realized and completed through the mass of the people and for them unity of speech, territory, economic life and culture, *i.e.*, it realized to the full the conditions without which no nation exists and can exist.

The spokesmen of the French revolution were perfectly aware of the intimate connection existing between democracy and the nation. In January, 1789, the Abbot Sieyes in his pamphlet, "*What Is the Third Estate?*", already coined the phrase that the third estate was the nation itself. The constituents of the third estate mandated their representatives not to regard themselves as the representatives of one estate but as the plenipotentiaries of the whole nation. Despite manifold resistance the assembly of the third estate called itself the "National Assembly."

The nation is the sovereign people, determining its own fate, turned from an object into an active and ruling subject of politics. Thus and in no other way did the spokesmen of the French revolution regard the nation. Robespierre expressed this idea clearly in the discussion on the constitution on October 22, 1789, when he said:

"The constitution lays down that the sovereignty of the people dwells in every single individual belonging to the people. Every single individual has the right therefore to cooperate in framing the law which binds him and in the administration of the public cause which is his own. If that is not so then it is not true that all men are equal in right, that *all men are citizens.*"

The subject is transformed into the citizen and it is only thereby that the people is turned into a nation. This conception was already contained in the introductory remarks in the complaint book of the city of Paris; they say:

"We prescribe to our representatives that they are to resist unyieldingly everything that might impair the dignity of free citizens coming to exercise the *sovereign rights of the nation.*"

And the Declaration of the Rights of Man says: "All state power is vested in the nation and can be exercised only for its benefit." We might multiply these instances a hundredfold but these few will suffice to show how a people is transformed into a nation.

Comrade Stalin described the objective characteristics of a nation in these terms:

"The nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture....

"It must be emphasized that none of the above characteristics is by itself sufficient to define a nation. On the other hand, it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be absent, and the nation ceases to be a nation." *

The historical process in which a nation is formed is the process of bourgeois-democratic revolution. *The development of the nation is dependent on the development of democratic rights and liberties.* Tribes and peoples who do not unite of their own volition, in a democratic manner but are forced to come together can only under special conditions and never completely amalgamate into a nation. A people which does not exercise the sovereign rights of a nation, in which the dignity of the free citizen is not alive, cannot develop fully into a nation. If we compare the German nation with the French we find that national development in Germany was as incomplete as the development of democracy. In Germany as elsewhere it was the process of the bourgeois revolution which united the "formless heap of disunited peoples," but this union stopped short of its completion as did the bourgeois revolution. It was brought about not by a national as-

* Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 8, International Publishers, New York.

sembly, not by the act of free volition of a free people but more or less through the agency of the Prussian saber. Baron vom Stein, the great democratic reformer, already foresaw the fatal role to be played by Prussia when on September 17, 1812, he declared: "In order to achieve some sort of unity we ought to destroy Prussia." Some sort of unity was achieved in spite of Prussia but it was a unity which Engels characterized in these apt terms: "The German Empire of the Prussian Nation." The Bavarian, the Saxon, the Rhinelander have never so completely merged with the German as the Provencal, the Bearnese, the native of the Dauphiné has merged into the Frenchman. German fascism has not developed the nation any further but has, on the contrary, started a retrograde movement on a catastrophic scale. One of the decisive characteristics of the nation, the community of culture, is beginning to disappear. But without this characteristic a nation ceases to be a nation.

IV. THE RULE OF FASCISM—DECAY OF THE NATION

Decaying capitalism rots the nations as well. In the epoch of rising, culture-creating capitalism, a capitalism closely allied with democracy, the tendency to unite a multitude of tribes and nationalities into great nations was predominant. But now, in the epoch of imperialism, we witness a retrograde movement. Not the democratic unity but the dictatorial oppression of the peoples is the fundamental law of imperialism. In the struggle against imperialism, against alien rule, even such peoples will become nations, which might otherwise have been prepared to merge into some greater nation.

We witness this development in the Austrians for instance. What is more, national antagonisms which one fancied were already forgotten are coming to life or are growing more acute, as antagonisms in general grow more acute under imperialism. The bourgeoisie, one time the champion of the democratic and national ideal, has turned reactionary. Capitalism has taken on a parasitic character, like decaying feudalism had done before it—the feudalism which it overthrew. Capitalism is now hindering the evolution of the forces of production and the development of the nations. The oppression of foreign peoples goes hand in hand with the oppression of the people at home. The peoples are experiencing in an increasingly painful manner what Karl Marx expressed in these terms: "*A people which oppresses other peoples cannot itself be free.*" The reactionary bourgeoisie is coming into increasingly acute conflict with the interests of the people, with the national interests. Just as the revolutionary French people was faced with an international conspiracy of reaction, so are the peoples today faced with an international conspiracy of the reactionary bourgeoisie. The French Communists are perfectly right when they compare the 200 families and their henchmen with the "men of Coblenz," with the French aristocrats who fomented from abroad the reactionary conspiracy directed against revolutionary France. In many countries the reactionary bourgeoisie after betraying the people has proceeded to betray the country. In order to smash the sovereign rights of the nation and destroy the democratic liberties of the people, the financial magnates and their lackeys are prepared in every country to ally themselves with a foreign enemy. All they want and strive for is to prevent the masses of the people from uniting, and to disrupt the unity of the nation.

This betrayal of the nation assumes the garb of extreme, exaggerated nationalism. Imperialist chauvinism has nothing in common with the natural national pride which is the characteristic of free nations. The place of a justified pride in freedom won by struggle, in democratic institutions and cultural achievements is taken by a turgid intoxication, by the miserable illusion of belonging to a "higher race." The fascist demagogues of imperialism preach to the nations: "It does not matter whether you are serfs or free men, whether you

are scoundrels, rogues or men of honor, whether you are ignorant, superstitious boors or men of culture—you are in any case the crown of creation because you belong to *this* nation and not some *other!* You are in any case called to rule the world, even though you are not allowed to rule yourselves."

This stupid nationalism, which paralyzes all national development, is the *ideology of a gang of robbers* who are out to transform all the countries of the earth into colonies and all the peoples of the earth into herds of slaves. National pride with which the democratic revolution inspired the peoples in order to rouse them gives way to chauvinism with which the imperialist gangsters inspire the peoples in order to dope them and put them into a state of pathologic intoxication. It has the same function as the liquor which was given to the soldiers before they were driven over the top. *When the nation is drunk it is easier to deceive and to betray.*

The bourgeois-democratic revolution transformed *subjects* into *citizens* and peoples into nations; fascism completes the retrograde movement which is the general characteristic of the imperialist era. It tolerates no citizens, only subjects, it disrupts the nation and strives to degrade it into a uniform and docile herd of sheep. Let us recall once again the united and elementary demands presented by the French people to the old regime, the demands which united the the people into a nation: against absolutism, against religious persecution, against arbitrary taxation, against the lack of rights of the mass of the people.

No *lettres de cachet*, no state prisons, no secret police, no emergency courts, no arbitrary arrests, no secret trials, no contributions, no intendants! Establishment of a constitutional state, guarantees for the inviolability of the individual and of property, freedom of the press, inviolability of the secret of correspondence, equal burden of taxation, responsibility of ministers, democratic bodies to supervise the government! Such are the demands repeated a thousandfold in the *cahiers. It was on the basis of these demands that the nation rose.*

Fascism has destroyed again everything they had won. It has restored again absolutism, the persecution of ideas, arbitrary taxation, the lack of rights of the masses. *Lettres de cachet*, state prisons, secret police, emergency courts, arbitrary arrests, secret trials, contributions under a hundred names, intendants called today governors and functionaries —all this has been brought back by fascism with meticulous precision. It is excitingly topical to read the words of the complaint *cahiers* in which the people flayed the jurisdiction of the seigniors:

"It favors the abuse of power by petty despots, it is stigmatized by public opinion and must be suppressed for it is incompatible with the happiness, freedom and dignity of the people."

Each of these words, written a hundred and fifty years ago, is a blow at the arbitrary rule of the fascist state machinery! The conditions against which the awakening nations revolted have come back in a worsened form. The nations who have been forced into the yoke of fascism sink back into the misery in which no nation can thrive.

Fascism destroys not only the democratic foundations of the nation, it also destroys the national community of culture. Between those brought up in the spirit of fascism and those who still adhere to the spirit of German culture there is no community. It is not chance that German fascism, unable to bring forth any cultural achievements of its own, now proceeds systematically to bury the cultural heritage of the German people.

Lessing, one of the great creators of the German national conscience, has been posthumously condemned to death as "spawn of Jews and Czechs." The dramas of the youthful Schiller are deleted from the playbills because of "tendencies towards cultural Bolshevism." Goethe is defamed as a "flabby cosmopolitan." The more the ruling rogues discover the profound relationship existing between the

German classics and the spirit of the French revolution, the stronger grows their dislike of the German classics. The destruction of the community of culture extends even to the language; the barbarous, confused and savage gangster slang of the German fascists is becoming more and more incomprehensible to those who learned to speak the *German* of Luther, Lessing and Goethe. A young Austrian Socialist who was imprisoned in the custody of German fascist turnkeys wrote to a friend: "The worst was that I could not understand a word they said. What these brutes spoke was certainly not German." Those many millions who still incarnate German culture and the German nation are faced with a horde of fascist barbarians who have as little in common with the nation as a pack of wild beasts. Only in the struggle against fascism can the German people survive as a nation and preserve the nation from complete disruption. A nation which abdicates its self-determination, which acquiesces in slavery, which sinks into uncivilization, ceases to be a nation.

Fascism wishes to bring about such a state of affairs.

It has become the great task of the working class in all countries to save the nation.

A. THE SALVATION OF THE NATIONS BY THE WORKING CLASS

For a long time the working class lived on the edge of the nation. It was more or less excluded from the national community of culture. In old German the word "misery" was an expression for "foreign"; and for the working class the fatherland was merely misery and foreignness. "The proletarian has no country" was a profound and bitter conviction.

Through the class struggle the workers gradually won a place in the nation for themselves. By achieving democratic rights, by the shortening of working hours, by the right of combination and social legislation the beast of burden was transformed into a citizen. Through its parties, trade unions and other organizations the working class began to take an ever-increasing part in the life of the nation and the great national community of culture. It grew into the most important and most numerous class of modern society. It was and it is the creator of immeasurable cultural values. It has undertaken to turn into a reality the loftiest ideal of mankind, socialism; to build up a world in which man is not a wolf to man, but a brother.

The working class began to revise its relationship with the nation. Fatal errors and deviations were committed in this process. Though the proletarian had become a citizen it was in a different sense than the bourgeois. He was still exploited by the ruling classes and had no shares in the capitalist joint stock company called "fatherland." Although he had won for himself certain not inconsiderable rights of citizenship, the state still confronted him as the *machinery of the ruling class for oppression.* Any deviation from the inexorable class struggle, any truce with the bourgeoisie hindered the working class in its development. The opportunist conception that it was possible to "grow into" socialism within the bourgeois state, that the working class need not *smash* the old state machine but could gradually *take it over* led to terrible reverses of the working class movement. This conception was carried into the ranks of the working class movement by agents of the bourgeoisie. Sections of the working class were corrupted. Especially in the advanced capitalist countries a labor aristocracy was born which came to terms with the bourgeoisie, which did not give a lead to the people but trotted along in the wake of the ruling class. This petty-bourgeois opportunism was accompanied by narrow craft prejudices. The representatives of the labor aristocracy left the political leadership to the bourgeoisie, took no notice of the claims of the peasants, of the urban middle classes, of the whole working population and regarded as their task merely the defense of the economic interests of the working class within the

bounds of bourgeois-capitalist society. They came more and more under the influence of bourgeois nationalism and developed into social-patriots, traitors not only to the interests of the working class but to the interests of the peoples who shed their blood in the imperialist war for a handful of imperialist robbers.

The revolutionary spokesmen of the working class who opposed this treacherous opportunism and stood up for the principle of proletarian internationalism often made the mistake of denying the significance of the national question for the working class. *Only the Bolsheviks, only Lenin and Stalin fought indefatigably for the correct mixture of proletarian internationalism and active participation by the working class in all problems of the nation.* They explained again and again that the working class cannot fulfill its tasks, that it robs itself of the surest guarantee of victory if it abandons the proletarian internationalism, but that on the other hand the internationalism of the proletariat should not lead to a neglect of the problems of the nation. *Proletarian internationalism* is necessary in order to preserve the workers from sinking into bourgeois nationalism and consequently from the betrayal of their own interests and the interests of the whole people. It is necessary in order that in every great struggle the forces of the international working class may be united and the suppression of revolutionary movements in each single country prevented. It is necessary in order to win the oppressed nation as allies for the struggle for emancipation from the imperialist oppressors and in order to preserve the workers of the oppressor nations fom digging the grave of their own freedom by their approval of oppression. It is necessary in order to defend the peace of the nations from the imperialist fomenters of war.

Lenin not only fought the treacherous opportunism of a venal section of the working class with revolutionary consistency, he also opposed all craft sectarianism in the working class all his life. In his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* published in 1902, Lenin confronted the type of the trade unionist, the craft-obsessed nothing-but-trade-unionist, with the type of the revolutionary tribune of the people. He wrote:

"It cannot be too strongly insisted . . . that the Social-Democrat's ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but *a tribune of the people,* able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects. . . .

". . . For he who forgets that 'the Communists support every revolutionary movement,' that we are obliged for that reason to expound and emphasize *general democratic tasks before the whole people,* without for a moment concealing our socialist convictions, is not a Social-Democrat." *

The working class is here clearly given the task of being leaders of the people, leaders of the nation. No less clearly did Lenin and Stalin stress the necessity for the working class to support everywhere the struggle for emancipation of the oppressed nations, consistently to advocate the right of self-determination for all nations and to guarantee the free development of all nations under socialism. *The national program of Lenin and Stalin* was turned into reality in the Soviet Union. While national oppression is increasing in the capitalist world, we are witnessing an unprecedented flourishing of the nations in the socialist state.

The working class has found a fatherland on one-sixth of the earth. It has conclusively proved that it is capable of giving a lead to the people and of leading the peoples upwards to freedom, peace, prosperity and culture. In the Soviet Union it has united more than sixty nations in a fraternal alliance and through socialism has developed all their creative forces and faculties. This example has a profound and lasting influence on the working class and the mass of the people in the capitalist countries.

* V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done," *Selected Works,* Vol. II, pp. 99, 102. International Publishers, New York.

On the other hand the workers and the masses of the people see that fascism is striving to bend all nations to its yoke and to destroy the working class movement. The workers recognize more and more clearly that their fate is closely linked with the fate of their nation; that if their nation is oppressed, they themselves suffer triple oppression and that only they are able to give a lead to the nation in decisive moments.

When enemies of the people at home and abroad threaten the freedom and independence of the nation, the working class rises to defend those national rights and liberties whose loss makes the proletarian class struggle immeasurably more difficult. The working class defends those national interests which do not contradict its own interests. But it must never lend itself to defend the oppression of other nations, the exploitation of colonial slaves, etc., as if this were the national interest. *The revolutionary interests of the working class must in all circumstances take precedence over all other interests.* In no circumstances are the revolutionary workers defenders of the nation *as such*, for their ideal is not the nation but *socialism*. But in an epoch when fascism is attempting to force foreign nations under its yoke in order that it may at the same time annihilate the working class movement, at a time when the reactionary bourgeoisie is becoming more and more of a traitor to its own nation because its hatred of socialism and democracy are greater than its fear of alien rule—at such a time the revolutionary workers turn more and more into the champions of the true national interests.

In defending the national rights and liberties against the fascist oppressors and their accomplices, the working class allies itself with all individuals and groups "who do not make the fate of their country and of their people an object of barter" and who are determined to defend the freedom, dignity and independence of the nation against attacks from outside and treason from inside. In this fighting alliance the working class must, however, from the start avoid the danger of slipping imperceptibly from the anti-fascist defense of national interests into a bourgeois nationalism. The working class must always keep in mind that their bourgeois-democratic allies put the nation above all other interests and that this is the reason why they are prepared to make common cause with the revolutionary workers against the attacks of fascism and the treason of the reactionary bourgeoisie. But for the revolutionary workers *the interests of socialism always take precedence over all national interests.*

Fighting side by side with the revolutionary workers in the anti-fascist struggle for liberty, large sections of the working people will come to understand that *the working class is the backbone of the nation* and that in the long run the vital interests of the nation merge more and more into the revolutionary interests of the working class.

They are beginning slowly to understand that the reactionary bourgeoisie stops at no betrayal of the national interest, that the petty-bourgeois politicians prefer surrender to fighting in the hour of direst peril. They are learning from experience that only the state governed by the working class, that only the Soviet Union is determined to defend the freedom of the peoples and oppose the fascist aggressors inexorably and unfailingly. They will convince themselves gradually that the *class struggle* of the workers against the reactionary bourgeoisie serves the interests of the entire people, *that it is a struggle for the future of the nation.*

The bourgeoisie was at one time the *midwife* of the nations. Today its most reactionary section has taken office as the *executioner* of the nations.

In the dawn of the French revolution Sieyes coined the phrase: "The third estate is the nation!" Today, in the twilight of capitalism, the peoples must understand that "the working class, the peasants, the workers are the nation!" The reactionary bourgeoisie stands outside the nation. It is the enemy of the

nation. The struggle against it is a part of the national struggle for emancipation.

Only the working class is capable of saving the nation from decay by uniting the masses of the people and waging an inexorable war against the fascists and their accomplices and by the establishment of a true democracy.

The future of the nations today is bound up with the *internationalism* of the working class. The international unity of action of the working class must precede the international alliance of the peoples against fascism. The bourgeois governments are breaking every alliance which inspired the peoples with hopes of security. The job today is to bring about the alliance of the peoples themselves.

The reactionary bourgeoisie is sacrificing the freedom, the security, the independence of the nations to its own base class interests.

The class interests of the working class prompt it to unite with the masses of the people for the struggle against the fascist and reactionary bourgeoisie.

The class interests of the working class in the perspective of the future merge with the vital interests of the nations.

Hence it is the historical task of the working class to bring about the unity of the people against fascism and to take the lead in saving the nation.

"Two governments, the most powerful in the world, finding their relationship one of the most 'complete clarity' and friendliness, are facing the world crisis of a universal fascist aggression while the other great powers are retreating or surrendering; both these great powers are fully determined to defend at all costs their own territories and those neighbors to whom they have accepted obligations; both these great powers are fully devoted to restoration of international order, the inviolability of national boundaries, and the sanctity of treaties.

"It is clear that this situation demands the conscious cooperation of the two great powers for their common aims. It is demanded by the national interests of both, and by the interests of all oppressed and suffering humanity. It is demanded for the continued existence of civilization itself."—Earl Browder, *Social* AND *National Security.*

Theories Which Help Hitler

BY K. WERNER

I.

ARE WE LIVING IN A NEW PHASE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM?

FASCISM is rabid reaction and counter-revolution; it is an open terrorist dictatorship in the interests of the ultra-imperialists; it is the power of finance capital itself. These features distinguish the class character of fascism.

The complicated political conflicts which preceded the fascist dictatorship in Germany, as well as certain heterogeneous Social-Democratic "theories," have aided the Nazis in concealing the class character of fascism from the masses. In this connection, we are reminded of Otto Bauer who characterized fascism as a state power which stands above the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

It is not by chance that we are reminded of Otto Bauer, but by the fact of an article—the last he wrote before his death—whose false theoretical content must needs lead to the most dangerous political conclusions. This article favors the misconception of some confused anti-fascists that fascism has put an end to the "period of liberal capitalism" and that it contains certain anti-capitalist elements. Those who assumed this attitude appear not to have noticed how perilously near this brings them to the ideologists of fascism. Only a few weeks ago, the German fascist, Windschuh, wrote in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung:* "The liberal market . . . has been replaced by the socialist type of market in a number of areas."

Similar to Otto Bauer's speculations are those of the Social-Democrat Friedrich Stampfer, who, in the *Neue Vörwarts* of August 28, stated that fascism "exhibits strong super-capitalist and anti-capitalist features." In this point of view he even exceeds Otto Bauer who wrote, in the course of his article, that fascism "represents a new phase in the development of capitalism" and shows "the superiority of the social organization of economy over capitalist anarchy." The danger of Stampfer's theoretical conceptions is also revealed sharply by the conclusions which he himself draws from them.

These statements by Bauer and Stampfer go directly contrary to the truth. They are frivolous inventions, which can only benefit fascism.

Let us first examine the contention that fascism has overcome "economic liberalism." Economic liberalism—if we must use this term—was a definite stage in capitalist development in which ruled "the old type of free competition between manufacturers, scattered and uninformed about one another, and producing for an unknown market." *

This period of pre-monopolist capitalism has not just terminated, but came to an end before the World War, at the turn of the century. It was replaced by capitalist monopoly. It is this that is "economically fundamental" in imperialism, which is the "development and direct continuation of the fundamental properties of capitalism in general." **

* Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, p. 24, Little Lenin Library, International Publishers, N. Y.

** *Ibid.*, p. 80.

With this, capitalism entered upon the highest stage of its development. The further development of capitalism into imperialism is at the same time the further sharpening of the basic contradictions between social production and capitalist appropriation. The monopoly of capital becomes more and more a restriction on the means of production. The social productive forces disintegrate, and, under the pressure of capitalist appropriation, begin to decompose. The capitalist shell must be burst. Therefore Lenin sees in imperialism also the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat.

The economics of imperialism expresses a turning "from democracy to political reaction . . . political reaction corresponds to monopoly."* Fascism embodies the cruelest and fiercest political reaction, whereby "the pressure of the few monopolists upon the rest of the population becomes a hundredfold heavier, more painful, more unendurable."*

The economic existence of imperialism, or the "epoch of finance capital," therefore, rests on the replacement of free competition by monopoly. However, capitalism has not changed as a social form thereby. Through monopoly, the socialization of production under capitalism has been brought to its utmost limit.

"In its imperialist stage, capitalism leads right forward to the most comprehensive socialization of production; it draws the capitalists, so to speak, without their knowledge or desire towards a new type of social order which represents the transition from completely free competition to complete socialization." *

The development of productive forces has reached such a stage that they already need a genuine socialization. The capitalist monopolies restrict and limit their further development. This leads to their stagnation and decay. If the forces of production are to be further developed, socialism is needed. Therefore monopoly is also the "transition from capitalism to a higher order." * But these monopolies in themselves are not elements of socialism for they belong to the capitalists and not to the producers. Here is the root of Otto Bauer's mistake, when he says that "a new phase of the development of capitalism has appeared" in Germany. He must either deny the capitalist character of monopoly, must "discover" socialist elements within it, or—also in contradiction to Marxism—he must endeavor to represent certain new phenomena in fascist crisis economy —such as control of currency and stock markets, control of raw material, control of exchange, and so on—as a "new phase of capitalism."

But what has happened, in actual fact? Capitalist monopoly, the basic economic characteristic which Lenin stressed in his analysis of imperialism, has materially increased its specific gravity under fascism. (See my article in *The Communist International*, No. 8, 1938.) The processes of concentration and centralization have continued at a keen speed. Without having completely put an end to free competition, the economic power of monopoly has obtained such powerful sway that nowadays some 50 to 60 monopolists are the real masters of Germany. Consequently, the basic contradictions within capitalism have become considerably deepened and sharpened.

WHITHER DOES THE FRENZIED ARMING OF FASCIST GERMANY LEAD?

Does the conversion of large sections of Germany's means and forces of production into armaments and war material production restrict or strengthen the symptoms of stagnation and decay which are characteristic of imperialism? Relying solely on the surface aspect of phenomena, it would appear that fascist economy is passing through a "flourishing" period. Even galloping consumption lends to the face a ruddy appearance. But the appearance is deceptive. If we go down to the reality of things, we find in Germany a dislocation of capitalist economy much more severe than during the last years of the World War.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, Russian edition.

The total social production in many branches of industry is sinking, although the number of these branches is increasing in the course of the development and expansion of the capitalist method of production. But, however large may be the number of branches of production, they must be divided, in accordance with their use value, into two groups or categories: those which produce the means of production and those which produce consumption goods. Social production can only proceed without disturbance if a specific relation exists between the growth and ramification of both categories.

Although in general the production of the means of production always grows faster than that of consumption goods, yet the first category is dependent upon the second. The relation existing between the two categories of production has been drastically deranged in fascist Germany by the frenzy of armaments production. The development of the consumption goods category has been restricted by force. Therefore it stagnates, decays.

From hundreds of examples, to illustrate this, we may cite a few here. The limitations imposed on the double or treble shift system in the textile industry; prohibition of expansion or of establishing new concerns in the manufacture of tobacco, watches and clocks, stoneware, clay tiles, and certain branches of textiles. As against this we may set the considerable expansion of the category of means of production, in so far as it serves the armaments industry. But here also there is the reverse side. Whole departments of some large concerns are now so equipped that their machinery can only be used for the production of arms or munitions. Once the need for this is lessened, these machines are worthless except as scrap.

So is capitalist economy distorted by these fascist coercive measures. Such a condition can be maintained for a certain period, but it implies a progressively increasing poverty among the masses.

Those branches of industry which produce armaments, together with certain others which depend upon them, are accumulating to a previously unheard-of degree. New furnaces are installed, foundries are enlarged; new plants are being built, for example, for the production of synthetic petrol, artificial filament, and so on.

But the situation is very different in many branches of consumption goods production. The surplus value which, in this field, still flows into the pockets of the capitalists, and which is not dissipated personally, cannot be employed for the expansion of the concern because such expansion is forbidden. So it finds its way into the banks as deposits. Then the fascist state lays a hand upon it; the banks are compelled to invest their customers' deposits in the worthless loan stock of the Reich. And the money, which the state receives from the bank in return for its worthless bonds, serves to pay for armaments.

We see, therefore, that this surplus value, with the help of the dictatorship, drifts into the hands of the arms monopolists and is profitably invested in their concerns, while its erstwhile possessors must content themselves with government stock of base value.

Everywhere in the country, the money and loan capital, as well as all reserves still existing, are being mobilized under pressure and placed under the control of armaments and heavy-industry capital. The coercive measures are all designed to increase the realization on the capital of the arms monopolists, not only at the expense of the masses of the people, but also to the detriment of the remainder of the bourgeoisie. The national income is being redistributed to the advantage of a small upper section. This method of "regulating economy" by the fascist dictatorship perceptibly deepens and broadens the antagonism within the camp of the bourgeoisie. This antagonism also found expression in Hitler's proclamation. But Otto Bauer, instead of noting this profound, acute contradiction which separates the finance oligarchy from the entire nation, finds that capital in

general has "sought refuge in fascist *étatisme*."

Let us consider armaments now from another angle. The terrific growth of militarism in fascist Germany is one of the phenomena which exemplifies the parasitical character of German capitalism and the advanced stage of the process of its disintegration and decay. Through the formidable expansion of the armaments industry, the larger portion of the productive forces are taken from society in order to produce the means of destruction. New inventions are used solely for the purpose of even more effectively and frightfully bringing about the vast destruction of the forces of production during a war.

Yet monopoly itself restricts technical progress, as was proved by Lenin in his analysis of imperialism. Under fascism the monopolies have considerably expanded, and with this expansion arose the opportunity of restricting technical progress. The few research institutes and laboratories which still exist in Germany are controlled by the big firms. Thus the monopolists are able to suppress and keep secret new discoveries, in the interests of their profits. Take, for example, the production of iron without a blast furnace. This process is known, and is employed industrially, in the Soviet Union. But the industrialists of the Ruhr are not interested in the application of this method. Their profit interests cause them to restrict the development of new methods of production. On the other hand, in Germany, the inventive spirit is set to work on the problem of extracting fat from dishwater. This is the economic significance of inventions inverted. Sense become nonsense.

Furthermore, the compulsory cartels in fascist Germany constitute a state-imposed limitation of the development of productive forces. In this manner those outsiders were exterminated, who formerly, by means of superior methods of production, broke through the ring of monopoly prices and gained for themselves a share of the market.

The decay, the parasitical character of capitalism in Hitler Germany are also apparent in the huge development of the state apparatus, and also of that apparatus whose existence is devoted solely to "regulating" affairs, or, in other terms, coercion. Here we include the Gestapo, the ordinary police, the Storm Troopers and the "Protective Squads" or "Black Guards."

It is estimated that these two bodies, the Storm Troopers and Protective Squads, cost about 444,000,000 marks per year. If today you were to desire to build yourself a quite ordinary house in Nazi Germany, you would have to visit 29 different authorities before you were fully authorized to go ahead. And then, in order to obtain building materials, you or your builder would have to endure a similar routine once more, just as long or longer.

German industrialists are continually and publicly complaining that the existence of the parasitical bureaucratic apparatus—which arose through the establishment of many and various forms of state supervision, which employs 500,000 officials and whose *immediate* expenses alone amount to two billion marks per year—has forced them to establish a similar body whose sole occupation it is to find a way through the jungle of a thousand-and-one decrees and by-laws and to negotiate with the state bureaucracy.

A Southwest German chamber of commerce has shown that, in the case of a concern employing between one hundred and two hundred workers, 75 per cent of the merchandising costs are expended on dealings with the bureaucracy; filling in forms, securing permits for use of foreign currency, raw materials, etc. For one particular transaction, it was shown, no less than 140 forms were required. The bureaucrats pocket their satisfactory salaries; fine offices are built for them and expensively equipped, and automobiles are placed at their service. Even if it were true, as Goering has maintained, that they sometimes remain working in their offices until midnight, this

would not increase the material wealth of society by one farthing's-worth. On the other hand, they reap only what others have sown. The entire fascist state and economic apparatus is parasitical. It is the expression of the vast squandering of material values which is taking place.

Let us examine the expenditure on armaments from this aspect. Careful estimates show that at present at least two-thirds of the Reich's expenditure is *directly* allocated to armaments. In 1928, about 1 per cent of production was concerned with arms and other war material. Nowadays, it is at least between 11 and 12 per cent. In 1912, the total expenditure on army and navy amounted to one billion marks. But in 1937, it was eighteen billions. This socially unproductive activity demands an ever sharper turning of the screw of taxation, the exhaustion of all the country's reserves, an increasingly unbearable burdening of the masses, and also an increasing toll on some types of surplus value. The state's resources for educational and cultural purposes, for housing and social services, have sunk to a minimum.

Can this be called progressive? Indeed no. Through the fascist dictatorship, the symptoms of the decline and decay of German capitalism have become more marked, and its parasitic character has become even more pronounced.

HAS THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP ANY ANTI-CAPITALIST TRAITS?

What can we discern now of those "super-capitalist and anti-capitalist features" which Friedrich Stampfer believed he had discovered in the economy of fascist Germany?

This order of thought is at least no novelty. Like all of its kind, it has its roots, its theoretical foundation, in the ideology of that reformism which Eduard Bernstein reduced to a system. At the center of this collection of reformist conceptions stands the theory of the relation of state and economy. It is upon this that is based the reformist conception of the socialist content of the state's "influence" upon capitalist economy. Friedrich Engels, in his letter to Conrad Schmidt, clearly revealed the real results of the influence of the bourgeois state power upon the economic development of capitalism. He wrote as follows:

"The reaction of the state power upon economic development can be one of three kinds: it can run in the same direction, and then development is more rapid; it can oppose the line of development, in which case nowadays state power in every great nation will go to pieces in the long run; or it can cut off the economic development from certain paths, and impose on it certain others. This case ultimately reduces itself to one of the two previous ones." *

Whatever form, then, this reaction of the state power may assume, it can never abrogate the economic laws upon which capitalist economy is based. Capitalist exploitation still exists. Lenin brilliantly characterized the economic significance of the "influence" of the bourgeois state upon capitalist economy during the last World War:

"Both America and Germany 'regulate economic life' in such a way that there emerge, for the worker—a military prison; for the bankers and capitalists—a paradise." **

Let us consider, for example, the "regulation" of the production, importation and consumption of raw materials in Hitler Germany. Stampfer openly characterizes these measures as anti-capitalist, or even as socialist.

When, during the World War, similar measures of control of transactions in raw materials were introduced, the reformist *Chemnitzer Volksstimme*, on February 10, 1915, welcomed it as a socialist project because "a large proportion of the entire supply of raw materials will be taken away from private trade and transferred to public control." But the drab truth, unfortunately, is otherwise.

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* *The Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, pp. 480-481, International Publishers, New York.

** V. I. Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, Russian edition.

Apart from the fact that these measures are in furtherance of preparations for war, they also contribute towards favoring the circle of those who participate in the profits of armaments manufacture, and forcefully limiting their number. The distress of the small and medium-sized enterprises speaks volumes, revealing what is hidden behind these so-called socialist measures—namely, the most ruthless profiteering interests of the reactionary finance oligarchy. (See my article in *The Communist International*, No. 8, 1938.)

Let us now consider the state "regulation" of prices. We have not sufficient space here for statistical proof of the rise in prices which has taken place since the fascist dictatorship came to power. However, the fact is so evident, so undeniable, that figures are hardly needed. Through "regulation," the retail price margins were ruthlessly cut, and in part this was also done to wholesale prices. In spite of this, however, prices sensibly increased. In the matter of foodstuffs, there was introduced the gigantic apparatus of the Reich Food Control, whose staffs also have to live, and live well, too.

Production in Nazi Germany is made to serve preparations for war, without reference to cost, so that existing price differences have to be somehow "bridged over," as the *Frankfurter Zeitung* so delicately puts it. How is this done?

Well, by imposing a tax duty on home-manufactured artificial rubber equivalent to the 170 marks per centner imposed on imported natural rubber. By taxing gasoline 16 pfennigs per litre. Through direct subsidies, as in the case of artificial oil. By compensation for the difference between transportation charges and home prices of metals, so that the monopolist gains yet a further profit by the allowance on transport charges. Further, by guaranteed purchases at previously fixed prices and quantities. Yes, exceptional prices are even paid as an "effective foundation for private financing." Such is the great secret of "self-financing."

And finally the consumers are still further harassed by permits or prohibitions of expenditure. (As, for instance, foodstuffs, clothing, household goods, etc.) The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, always a leading fascist organ, characterizes all this as "state action for the organization of scarcity." And what is the social significance of all these measures? Apart from the robbery of the masses, it is also the abandonment of certain capitalist consumers, to the advantage of the reactionary finance oligarchy.

What conditions exist with regard to the money market? The fascist dictatorship claims complete control over the stock market, so as partly to finance armaments. But does this prevent the most reactionary section of finance capital from procuring additional capital? Not in the least. The fascist dictatorship, in the guise of "taskmaster," pays its own real political taskmasters such juicy prices that an extension of capital is then quite possible through "self-financing," even if a subsidy is not forthcoming at the moment.

For the benefit of the financial oligarchy, the fascist dictatorship deprives small, medium-sized, and also certain large enterprises of the opportunity to obtain capital on the money market, while they have no opportunity—as have the others whom we have discussed above—of obtaining adequate amounts through "self-financing." Thus, we see that the "regulation" of the money market is purely a measure undertaken in the interests of the most reactionary section of finance capital.

Where, then, are those "anti-capitalist" or even "socialist" traits, of which Friedrich Stampfer dreamed?

And what of the "state-capitalist" tendencies in the fascist dictatorship? So long as the capitalist method of production exists—and it will exist until the shell of capitalism has been burst by the proletariat—state capitalism is only the expression of the fact that

"... capitalism, recognized by the state and controlled by the state, is used to the advantage of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." (Lenin.)

What of these tendencies in fascist Germany? The capitalist state which, in the 1931 crisis, saved the largest enterprises of reactionary finance capital from bankruptcy with the taxpayers' money—which Otto Bauer viewed as a step toward socialism, and Hilferding called "the realization of a whole piece of Marxism"—later, under Hitler's dictatorship. for a few beggarly pence gave back the share-capital it had acquired in 1931, and which had given it a majority participation in the affairs of these concerns. The hyenas of finance capital could hardly have dreamed of a richer booty. And who were the gentlemen who profited by this? They were Thyssen, Vögler, Frick, von Stauss and Reinhardt. If this was a piece of socialism, the capitalist vampires can hardly do other than desire more of it.

It is true that there are still some enterprises in "public hands": electric power stations, aluminum plants, mines and, finally, the Goering plant. But the balance-sheets, the composition of their managing boards and boards of directors, and the prices charged to consumers of these state undertakings reveal not a glimmering of "anti-capitalist" tendencies. There is no attempt to conceal their unabashed robbery of the consumers. Let one example suffice: The aluminum concern, "Vereinigten Aluminiumwerke A. G. Lautawerk," which belongs to the state, and has a share capital of 24,000,000 marks, has, during the last five years, reinvested 74,000,000 marks as "surplus from current sales." Of this, 38,100,000 marks were invested in 1937 alone. The relation of profit to share-capital is thus three to two. This should be sufficient to illustrate the profiteering that is going on.

What have been the results of our concrete analysis? It has served only to establish a continual, expanding, accelerated and more intimate intertwining of the most reactionary section of finance capital with the capitalist state, an unexampled degree of utilization by the finance oligarchy of the state apparatus for its predatory aims.

WHAT SOCIALIST ECONOMY FOR NEEDS IS NOT

Friedrich Stampfer quite cheerfully expresses the opinion that German fascism at the present time "up to a certain degree realizes the socialist economy of covering needs" but that it is the "need of the state for barracks and guns."

Here we have one of the results of that "learning anew," of which Stampfer writes in the same article. However, we do not believe that any new method of learning is necessary for such a conclusion. It is merely a case of applying the old reformist theory of "growing gradually into socialism" to the fascist present.

This unfortunate "theory" arises from an attempt to avoid the annoying question of power. Bernstein, the first revisionist theorist, at least viewed this "merging" as the result of a process of continual democratization, which he desired to take place. He saw socialism as proceeding from "the combination of the organizational creations of the worker in the field of free economy with the creations and achievements of fighting democracy in the state and municipality." Historical experience has proved that this conception is incorrect. Bernstein always expressed this viewpoint under the Weimar democracy. But is it not atrocious that it should also be expressed under fascism? Has nothing altered since the Weimar Republic? Where are the workers' cooperatives? Broken up. Where are the factories which were cooperatively run? In the hands of capitalists. Where is democracy in state and municipality? It has been replaced by a complete dictatorship, than which nothing could be more brutal.

And what is this "socialist supply economy" which, in the period of the most developed social division of labor, within the framework of world economy, is pressing on towards autarchy by means of the most frightful sacrifices among the people?

Is it not a mockery to provide a socialist tag for such reaction, such retrogression, such barbarity? This economy which places the needs of the masses last

in order, which employs nothing but the most brutal coercion towards the workers, the peasants, the middle class and sections of the bourgeoisie—is this socialist? How can anti-fascists win over the masses of the people—who hate this economy, who fight it and long for its end—for the struggle against fascism, by telling them that they want something basically the same?

Does Friedrich Stampfer believe that all that is needed is to change things at the top, to replace Hitler by a Social-Democrat, and then everything will be in order? No! This entire fabric of force, which exhales the pestilential breath of decay, must fall; the parasitical apparatus, maintained out of the sweat and blood of the people, must be smashed, extirpated. And in this struggle will fall fascism, will fall the power of the most reactionary section of finance capital. Then will the ground be clear for a free democratic republic, which Friedrich Stampfer amazingly describes as a retrogression. This will be the field upon which we shall struggle for socialism.

The "theories" of Otto Bauer and Friedrich Stampfer lead in their logical sequel to a repudiation of the whole policy of the people's front, to a repudiation of the struggle for a free democratic Germany. But it is only in the struggle for a free democratic Germany that all opponents of Hitler can join together in action, that that people's front can be established which alone is capable of overthrowing him. The more consciously we prepare for and lead this struggle the sooner will our advance towards socialism take place.

These latest reformist "theories" are proof of the correctness of those words of which Comrade Dimitroff reminded us in his article "The Soviet Union and the Working Classes of the Capitalist Countries":

"And Comrade Stalin was a thousand times right when he wrote ten years ago that: 'It is impossible to put an end to capitalism, without having put an end to Social-Democratism in the working class movement.'"

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BY OKANO

THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN JAPAN

AT THE end of the first year of their pirate raid on China the Japanese military fascists were already confronted with serious economic difficulties. Statistics compiled by the American office for home and foreign trade show that in the first five months of this year the imports to Japan of American raw materials indispensable for the conduct of the war had decreased from 25 per cent to 80 per cent. This applies to iron and steel, copper, motor cars, aircraft, iron, steel and copper scrap, petrol, etc., the only product showing an increase being rock oil. These figures prove that the Japanese imperialists were compelled by the economic situation to restrict the imports of war materials just when they needed those materials most.

One of the main reasons for this was the lack of gold. According to the latest reports the government has decided to send 300,000,000 gold yen to the United States out of a total bullion stock of 800,000,000. This means that the government was forced to make inroads on the last gold stocks. Added to the 250,000,000 yen worth of gold to be mined during the year this shipment of gold may cover the adverse trade balance for the current year and the first few months of the next. But then the government will be forced to use up the last remnants of the gold reserve—a course which must inevitably lead to a dislocation of the financial system of Japan.

A further reason for the decrease in the purchase of war materials lies in the circumstance that the present capacity of the heavy industries lags far behind the constantly increasing requirements of the steadily widening fronts in China.

As a result of the artificial and compulsory transformation of Japanese industry from light to heavy manufacture, the production of the latter, which in 1931 amounted to 17.9 per cent of the total industrial production of the country, had by 1936 risen to 32 per cent. In spite of this it was unable in 1937 to cope with the government orders which totaled 2,500,000,000 yen, *i.e.*, its capacity was equal to only one third of the military requirements of Japan.

A further significant fact is the decline of raw cotton imports to Japan by 32 per cent during the first fiive months of the current year (as compared with the same months of the past year). Hence Japan will have to restrict her exports of manufactured cotton goods in the future. As a result of the decrease in her production, of the increase in production costs and of the anti-Japanese boycott movement, Japan is losing the foreign markets for her cotton goods. The Japanese Chamber of Commerce in Manila, Philippine Islands, reported:

"In March, 1937, the market price of cotton goods was about 8 pesos and only Japanese goods were bought. In March, 1938, our price was 7.4 but the American price only 6.8. At present Japanese goods are not being sold at all."

In view of these difficulties Prime Minister Konoye effected a profound and far-reaching reorganization of his government in June of this year. He included in the new cabinet General Itagaki as War Minister, and General Araki as Minister of Education, both belonging to the military-fascist group. From the so-called "status quo" or "moderate" group he took General Ugaki to be his Foreign and Colonial Minister. Ikeda, former director of the Mitsui concern, was appointed Finance and Trade Minister. This was more than a mere cabinet reshuffle. It was a realignment in the leadership of the governing circles, the evidence of a closer alliance of the military fascists, the big financiers and the imperial court.

Foreign Minister Ugaki had to resign after a short spell in office. This fact shows that the friction existing among the various sections of the ruling circles has not diminished. It also proves that the military fascists are striving to gain control over the entire machinery of government (and especially of the Foreign Ministry, the last citadel of the status quo group) in order to hold undisputed sway in foreign and home policy.

THE SITUATION OF THE PEOPLE

In May of this year the government imposed on the country a law called the "General Mobilization Act." This act empowered the government to lay hands on all raw materials and goods it considered necessary for the war and to control through the intermediary of the army and the police the entire economic life of the country. Every business deal, every change of employment was subject to this control. By force of this act the government restricted the investment of new capital in enterprises producing goods other than armaments and the granting of loans to them. It has fixed maximum prices for all goods. It has in part banned and in part restricted the imports of raw materials such as cotton, wool, rubber, rags, timber and other materials not classed as "mobilization materials." It has also banned or restricted the production and sale of cotton goods in the home markets and the consumption of oil, coal, iron, steel, etc., for non-military purposes.

The results were catastrophic for the people, already heavily burdened by taxes, high prices, compulsory donations for war expenditure, forced labor and similar evils. The cotton mills were compelled to restrict their production by half and the rayon mills by 70 per cent. The big companies were able to switch over to chemical production or make a profit on exports, but the medium and small enterprises are on the verge of bankruptcy. The merchants have no goods to sell and are therefore resorting to illicit deals. The same is happening in the industries producing rubber goods, toys and various other articles, in the building trade, motor transport, etc. Even the lesser armament producers are victims of this regime, for they suffer from the lack of raw materials and the high cost of production. Many plants are closing down. Not only the mass of the workers but considerable sections of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are affected by the economic consequences of the war. About 4,680,000 persons are employed in the industries not producing war materials and 3,255,000 persons in trade, 80 to 90 per cent of whom are employed by small and medium-sized firms. (Figures are taken from the census of 1930 and relate to employers and manual and clerical workers.)

In order to carry out these measures effectively, the government in August established an "economic police," with jurisdiction extending all over the country. This police spies on all wholesale and retail shops. In the first half of August alone it arrested 10,181 business men and producers, half of them dealers in cotton goods. Mass arrests of these "unpatriotic elements" are still going on. Many have committed suicide and the small producers and traders are in a panic.

The conditions of the workers began to deteriorate immediately after the outbreak of the war. Retail prices rose by 31.7 points while the average wages of the workers increased by only 6.1 points. The government laid down maxi-

mum prices for articles of prime necessity but in reality these goods are being sold at three and four times the official price because they are so scarce. The majority of the workers eat nothing but rice and soya bean broth day after day, wear ragged old clothes and are shod with wooden clogs on bare feet.

The hardest hit were the workers (four millions) not employed in the armament industry. Their wages were cut. Many of them are menaced with unemployment. Even the very conservative estimates of the government put the number of manual workers in these industries thrown out of employment at 800,000 and the number of clerical workers at 500,000. If one considers the already existing degree of unemployment, one must conclude that there are now in Japan about 18,000,000 unemployed and part-time workers. Unemployment has grown most rapidly in the great industrial cities—Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Fukuoka, etc. Only 60 to 70 per cent can find work. In many cases the employers not only refuse to give the discharged workers a final payment, but make them pay any debts they may have contracted. This is a general practice especially in respect to the juvenile female workers in the textile factories. There is no unemployment insurance in Japan. Hence dismissal simply means slow starvation.

As the government could not very well overlook the gravity of this problem, it proceeded in the beginning of July to form, amid a great blare of publicity, a large commission which was to find a cure for unemployment. In August the government published a plan containing about a dozen items. The gist of the whole is this advice to the unemployed: "Try and find work in the busy industries or go back to your villages." The armament industry replied to this: "We can use only skilled workers." The representatives of agriculture issued an indignant statement, saying: "The influx of industrial workers in the agricultural areas would only worsen the position." Meanwhile the unemployed are simply refused assistance. A few may find work in the armament industry or find a way to return to their home villages. But the majority remain in the cities, hunt desperately for a job and form a gigantic industrial reserve army. Already in various localities there have been clashes between the unemployed and the police.

In contradistinction to the light industries, the heavy industries have in the past few years increased the number of their workers and have in part even granted wage increases. However, in these industries there have now developed two categories of workers: a small body of skilled workers getting high wages, whose fate in bound up with the fate of the war—and the rest, the unskilled workers who subsist on starvation wages and are constantly menaced with unemployment. Further there are tremendous differences in working conditions between the smaller and the larger firms of the armament industry. The militarists and the bourgeoisie are doing their best to exploit these differences, to split the ranks of the working class and rouse chauvinist feeling among the skilled aristocrats of labor. They have thus succeeded in securing the services of the reactionary leaders of the Shakai-Taishu-To (Social-Democratic Workers' and Peasants' Party),* who have their following mainly among the better-paid workers of the munitions factories.

There is, however, one circumstance from which all those employed in the war industries suffer alike: the terribly long hours, the merciless speed-up and the undermining of the workers' health. A working day of twelve hours is a minimum in the armament factories. Fourteen to sixteen hours are a general practice. Supervision over these factories is exercised by the army and armed military police enforce military discipline in them. This is how a worker described the life in his factory:

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* "Social Mass Party," based on trade unions, peasant organizations and individual membership. Its influence extends to about 340,000 organized workers and peasants. At the last general elections in April, 1937, the party polled 1,012,000 votes and won 38 seats. There are many political trends and groups within the party. Its newspaper is in the hands of reactionary, petty-bourgeois leaders.

"We start work at 7:20 A.M. Our normal working day would end at 5 P.M. But we must stay and work overtime the whole night until next morning. After breakfast, which is brought us from home, we begin work again and work until 5 P.M., *i.e.*, thirty-six hours on end. But otherwise we could hardly earn enough to afford the means even for our meager standards. We know very well that such working methods are undermining our health, but we cannot afford to refuse the overtime. A few of us do this long spell three times a week. They, of course, break down very soon. *And a breakdown for us means not sickness but death.*"

The speaker is a skilled worker. The conditions of the unskilled workers are very much worse. A doctor wrote:

". . . seventeen to eighteen year old juveniles fresh from their villages are employed in the factories as unskilled workers. Most of them fall ill within three to six months with pneumonia and tuberculosis. . . . Several factories were compelled to abolish late night work because the workers employed went down one after the other with tuberculosis or pneumonia. . . ." (*Kaizo*, August, 1938.)

The number of accidents in the factories has increased to an alarming degree. According to a report submitted by the municipal police the number of workers killed or injured in workshop accidents within the district of Tokyo rose from 697 in November, 1936, to 1,333 in November, 1937. According to the same report 68 fatal workshop accidents had already occurred in the first seven months of 1938, while their total for the preceding year was only 84.

The slightly higher wages of the skilled workers have little value. Owing to the scarcity of the articles of prime necessity and their tremendously high prices even these workers cannot buy what they need. Moreover, the government and the employers are now trying to rob these workers of the whole proceeds of their excess labor by the introduction of compulsory measures of "economy" calculated to benefit the finances of war. Even previous to August, 1938, a 5 per cent "economy" deduction was made from all wages in 1,200 shops and factories of the Tokyo district. Recently the government went even further. At present, according to a report in *Osaka Mainichi* of September 3, a compulsory reduction of the increased income of the skilled workers by 40 to 50 per cent is under discussion. Thus the privileges of the skilled workers are canceled out. The government has decided, moreover, that compulsory labor is to be introduced in November on the strength of the Mobilization Act. According to this act all workers over sixteen are to be registered and subjected to the strict supervision of the military authorities. Their place of work and their wages are to be compulsorily "regulated" by the same authorities. The militarists are thus robbing the workers of the last vestiges of freedom. It is hardly surprising under such circumstances that dissatisfaction is rife and that the chauvinist feeling of recent months is rapidly waning. We are witnessing an increase in the number of labor disputes and strikes of the munitions workers.

About half of the Japanese soldiers and almost the entire food supplies for the fronts come from the villages. Hunger and misery in the villages must have an immediate effect on the stomachs and morale of soldiers in the firing line.

The war is ruining the villages. There is a terrible lack of labor there. Foreign experts put the number of men mobilized at about a million and a half. If this estimate is correct, then the villages have lost about 750,000 men capable of working there. According to a report of the Central Cooperative Society, in many villages half of the householders had to join the colors. "It is no longer unusual to see the work on the land done by women and the aged" (*Tokyo Asahi*, June 19).

The solution of this problem of lack of hands would be the increased use of horses, the use of machines and the use of artificial fertilizers. But there is also a great scarcity of horses. In many villages up to 40 per cent of all the horses were commandeered by the army. The use of machines is out of the question for the poor peasants. Besides, the peasants are

not only unable to get machines, but the production of agricultural implements is very restricted, as agriculture is not classed with the armament industries. And although artificial fertilizers are of vital importance to Japanese agriculture, the peasants cannot make sufficient use of them because of their high price, now 15 per cent above the level of last year.

The peasants are further suffering from the disparity between the prices of industrial and agricultural products. The price of industrial articles has increased by 10 to 33 points within the year, while that of agricultural produce has gone up by only 4 points during the same time. Furthermore, the boycott movement directed abroad against Japanese goods and the economic crisis in the U.S.A. have led to an abrupt fall in silk exports. The bourgeoisie is doing its best to put all the burdens resulting from the loss of markets on the shoulders of the producers. The taxes, already a very heavy burden for the rural population, were further increased at the last session of parliament. On top of it all thousands of young girls who had been working in the textile factories of the cities and have now lost their jobs are returning to their village homes, bringing with them debts and disease and putting a fresh burden on their poverty-stricken families. . . . This is what the war has brought on the villages. But misery and ruin are not limited to the poor peasants, they affect the entire countryside with the exception of the big rich landowners. Bankruptcies of middle peasants and small landowners have been rapidly increasing in number.

The government has noisily announced a "relief" scheme for the countryside. As sovereign remedy for all ills it advocates the compulsory organization in each village of so-called "joint work," *i.e.*, the communal tilling of the fields, communal use of implements, communal cultivation of silkworms, etc. The government further organized compulsory "labor service corps" (Rodo-Hoshi-Han) to force the families of soldiers to till the land as unpaid agricultural auxiliaries. There can be no doubt that these measures have not only been ineffective but have caused much dissatisfaction and opposition among the peasants. Moreover, all this has resulted in a new psychological attitude among them. They have learned to call meetings, to discuss matters in common, organize cooperative work and finally to unite their forces for their common cause. There are several cases on record when the so-called "joint work" activities have resulted in the formation of a peasant committee to fight for economic demands.

The devastating effect the war is having on Japanese agriculture finds further expression in the decline of rice and grain crops and the decrease in the production of natural silk and other agricultural products. According to an estimate published by *Osaka Mainichi* the rice crops this year will fall 6 per cent short of those of last year. This is attributed above all to "diseases," but the true reason is mainly the lack of labor and of artificial fertilizers. In respect to other important agricultural products the government admitted that the grain crops were 4.9 to 14.7 per cent less than in the previous year and that the production of natural silk had declined by 10.2 per cent as to quantity and 29.7 per cent as to value. (*Osaka Mainichi*, September 6.) This is another serious blow not only for the producers but also for the militarists, because the bad harvest will doubtless endanger the food supplies of the army, which up to now had been laboriously kept up by imports from Korea and Formosa.

One effect of the war is that the majority of the agricultural population is beginning to throw off the influence of the militarists, who had hoped for the solid support of precisely this section of the people.

* * *

The living standards of the clerical workers, intellectuals and students, etc., have also deteriorated. A conservative estimate of the government puts the number of unemployed clerical workers at half a million. The University of Kyoto announces that of 6,000 students 557 were unable to pay their school fees during the last term and that of the

students who left the university on graduation at the end of the term, only 40 were able to find jobs. (*Kyoto University Shimbun*, November 5, 1937.) In the current year the position has grown even worse for all except the students of technical subjects. The salaries of clerical workers and civil servants have remained the same (except those of the employees of armament firms) but the prices of commodities have increased tremendously.

The "economic policy" of Ikeda, the "intellectual mobilization" of Araki and the remorseless measures of oppression introduced by Suetsugu have hit the intellectuals very hard and are destroying their cultural life. It is regarded as "unpatriotic" to wear cotton clothes and leather shoes, not to mention woolen clothing. Only chauvinist songs may be sung and the manufacture of gramophones and gramophone records has been completely prohibited. Christmas celebrations, dancing, etc., are banned because they are of foreign origin. The police arrested 125 students of the Waseda University because they had visited cafes and drunk tea in school time. These students were compelled to do "labor service" in their spare time. All student organizations and all social activities of the students were banned and even the student settlement of the Imperial University has been dissolved.

Bourgeois newspapers and journals which show the faintest trace of liberalism, pacifism, etc., or which publish reports on the true situation in the war zone are being suppressed. At the beginning of this year arrests were made up and down the country at the orders of Suetsugu. Twenty prominent professors were thus imprisoned together with many anti-fascist intellectuals. But despite the feverish chauvinist campaign and despite all persecution there is strong feeling against war and fascism among the intellectuals.

THE COLLAPSE OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that a large section of the Japanese population—including even a part of the bourgeoisie suffering from the policy pursued by the militarists and big monopolists—is discontented and strongly opposed to the war. In order to remain masters of the situation, the militarists are setting the whole machinery of jingo propaganda into motion. At the same time they corrupt the Social-Democratic leaders. There is no more shameful chapter in the history of the Japanese working class movement than the conduct of the pro-militarist leaders of the Shakai-Taishu-To represented by Aso, General Secretary of the Party, Kamei and others. When the war began they, of their own accord, offered their services to the warlords. The Social-Democratic section of the leadership such as Abe (the chairman of the Central Committee), and others followed Aso's example without a word of protest. At the conference of all parliamentary parties, held immediately after the incident near the Marco Polo Bridge, Abe in unison with the bourgeois parties proclaimed that "his party would take active part in national unity" and promised the government full support. The attitude of these men toward the pirate war against China finds its expression in the resolution of the Central Committee adopted in November, 1937, at the party congress. It reads:

"The Japano-Chinese incident pursues the object of suppressing the anti-Japanese forces which are puppets in the hands of elements wishing to colonize and Bolshevize China. Its object is further to *stabilize* China and to *defend* the Japanese nation. It is a holy war of the Japanese nation, which wishes to devote itself to the development of human *civilization* by building up a self-governing national state in China on the basis of history and the characteristics peculiar to the East and which wants to create a new system of *peace* around the *axis of the three countries* Japan, Manchuria and China." (*My italics*—Okano.)

The corruption of these people is making progress. They have organized little conferences with police and army officers (in Osaka, Tokyo, and other localities). In a report on such a conference their newspaper wrote:

"We exchanged views. Both parties

were well satisfied with the result—a most important fact—and we have agreed to hold more such conferences in the future. . . ." (*Shakai-Taishu-Shimbun*, January 30, 1938.)

They are conducting a campaign to collect funds for the war. Representatives of the party are being sent to the fronts in order to egg on the Japanese workers and peasants to fight against their Chinese brothers. And when they return from these journeys, these men make propaganda tours in favor of war.

Thus the reactionary leaders of Shakai-To and especially Aso and his clique have become open agents of the military fascists.

THE EBB OF WAR ENTHUSIASM

Despite feverish jingo propaganda, despite the criminal betrayal of the people by the Social-Democratic leaders and despite the bloody terrorism of the military police, the Japanese people from the very beginning showed little enthusiasm for this war. The Japanese people fear the outcome of this war and its ultimate results. It is being said everywhere that the present "incident" is merely the introduction to a greater war with the Soviet Union, perhaps with Britain or other powers.* Itagaki declared last June that Japan would have to carry on the war for *ten* years. Araki said later that Japan must be prepared for a *twenty or thirty* year war.

The people, however, are beginning to murmur. They are asking what is to become of the country and the nation if present conditions are to last another year, two years or three years, not to mention twenty or thirty years? What will be done after the war with the excessively enlarged munitions industry and the workers employed in it? What will be done with the demobilized soldiers, even if the war were to end with a victory for Japan? Can Japan hold in check at the bayonet's point 400,000,000 anti-Japanese Chinese? Neither militarists nor statesmen have even answered these questions. (The questions are not mine, they are being asked in various publications.)

Even Itagaki had to admit that the Japanese people are tired and exhausted, for from the viewpoint of the mass of the people the war has been going on for seven years already, *i.e.*, since the "Manchurian incident." The Japanese people in general demand "no more war."

This desire was expressed by the people in concrete form when the Japanese fascist adventurers in July of the current year invaded Soviet territory and conjured up the serious danger of a great war with the Soviet Union. It was reported that various organizations and the man in the street expressed their opposition to a new menace of war in more or less direct form. All Japanese newspapers with the exception of a small fascist paper advised the government almost uniformly that it ought to make its peace with the Soviet Union without delay. An American newspaperman in Tokyo reported that the Japanese people thus took a kind of "plebiscite" against the militarists and their new provocation.

GENERAL GROWTH OF MILITANCY AND ANTI-WAR SENTIMENT

It must be stressed that before the war began the Japanese working class was in the midst of a great offensive against the ruling class. In two general elections (1936 and 1937) the fascists suffered crushing defeats. A wave of strikes affected the whole of industrial life. The number of labor disputes in the first six months of 1937 was the highest in the history of the Japanese working class; 1,455 strikes took place with the participation of a total of 181,551 strikers. Compared with the corresponding period of the previous year the number of strikes was practically doubled and the number of workers participating in the disputes more than quadrupled.

This rising tide was, however, suddenly halted by the beginning of the

* The Vice-Minister for Trade and Industry spoke in his speech at the police conferences of the "necessity of defense against a third power or third powers" (August, 1938). Shortly prior to this the Finance Minister openly declared: "We must prepare for the struggle with the Soviet Union."

war in Northern China in the same way as the great wave of labor disputes in 1931 was stopped by the outbreak of the "Manchurian incident." The strikers were suppressed by the police with the assistance of the reactionary leaders of the Shakai-To and of the trade unions. After this the number of strikes sank rapidly and this decrease lasted until December. But then the working class began to recover, and since the beginning of the current year, the number of labor disputes has been on the increase again, as shown by the following table (this official record by no means includes all disputes):

1937	*Disputes*	*Strikers*
March	209	12,968
May	280	35,170
June	166	9,052
July	129	5,563
August	100	3,398
September	81	2,904
October	59	1,600
November	46	937
December	44	1,021
1938		
January	77	2,418
February	64	3,170
March	81	5,420

Immediately after the incident at the Marco Polo Bridge a great dispute began; 5,300 workers of the great aircraft works "Aichi-Tokai-Denki" in Nagoya took part in the strike under the leadership of a local trade union. But later the strikes remained in the main limited to the smaller industrial enterprises not manufacturing armaments. They were mostly of a defensive character and were not under the leadership of the trade unions. In the current year, however, the strikes began to spread from the small shops to the great factories including those of the armament industry and the demands put forward were no longer defensive ones. The reformist trade unions were compelled to take part in these movements. Thus, for instance, 120 workers of the Tsujiuchi foundry in Miye downed tools in February in a strike for higher wages which was partially successful. The local police issued a statement declaring that it was "highly regrettable that a strike has taken place in this critical period."

In April 2,000 employees of the Tokyo Electric Company, led by the clerks' trade union, demanded a wage increase and won some of their demands. In the same month there was a dispute in the Kasado docks in Yamaguchi where 500 workers are employed; the dispute lasted a month and ended with a victory for the workers as a result of the participation of the Zen-hyo trade union. In May, 400 workers of the Fuji textile works (Shizuoka) struck for a 30 per cent increase and won half of their demands. This strike was the signal for more strikes in other mills in the vicinity. Under such pressure the employers of the district granted a general wage increase in the following month. In June a strike wave flooded the industrial area of Kawasaki near Tokyo. The workers of 25 large factories demanded higher wages and got them.

It must be stressed in this connection that at such strike meetings more or less open attacks are made on the war and that anti-war feeling is spreading not only among the workers employed in the non-armament industries, but also among those working in the "prosperous" munitions works.

A similar position exists in the countryside. Disputes, the number of which fell sharply since July of last year, began to rise again no less abruptly in November, after the autumn harvest. The following figures have been published by the Social Department of the Ministry of the Interior:

1937	*Number of Disputes*
January	519
May	402
June	232
July	96
August	69
September	74
October	76
November	405
December	263
1938	
January	203

Most of these disputes are the result of the peasants' struggle against high rents and the attempts of the landowners to take the land away from the peas-

ants. It must be stressed here that many disputes are direct results of the war and are brought about by the demand that expiring tenancies of soldiers' families should be prolonged or that rents should be lowered or waived during the absence of the head of the family. In these disputes the peasants enjoy the support of the whole rural population and the result is a general antagonism to the landowners and to the war. The present war against China is most unpopular on the countryside. There have been many instances of refusal to comply with the call to the colors on the part of individuals. Anti-war feeling sometimes finds spontaneous expression in mass protests and resistance to the authorities.

* * *

There have been many cases of energetic protests on the part of soldiers' families. Thus in August last year hundreds of peasants stopped a troop-train near Tokyo for an hour and shouted: "Give us back our sons! Give us back our husbands!"

In a village of the Tojoku district the peasants attacked the "Defense Society" and knocked down its officials because they had distributed the rice supplies equally between the rich and poor soldiers' families instead of giving more to the poor. This problem has grown even more serious this autumn because the relief payments made by the employers are now expiring and most employers refuse to go on paying them.

The position of their families has immediate repercussions in the minds of the soldiers. For this reason the military authorities intercept all reports about the poverty of the families and even prohibit conversations on this subject at the front. But the families are learning to give information about their real position in such a way as to ensure that their letters pass the censor. At the same time the soldiers protested against the severe censorship and have secured concessions on this point.

Six years ago the Communist Party of Japan organized meetings in villages and factories with demobilized soldiers to speak about the war. Meetings of this kind often turn into anti-war meetings. The military authorities have now banned all such meetings and have also forbidden the soldiers under pain of punishment to tell stories about conditions at the front. In spite of the ban, however, the people arrange little welcome home meetings for the returning soldiers, at which the true position gets known. In this manner rumors about the front, about the Chinese army and especially about the Eighth Route Army are spread far and wide by word of mouth. This makes a great impression on the people. The problem of the soldiers' families is one of the greatest dangers threatening the present war regime.

* * *

At the beginning of the war the middle classes and lower middle classes supported the war and the militarists, because they believed the army propaganda which promised them a quick victory and great prosperity. But very soon they began to understand that the war was bringing them only ruin and misery. A sobering effect on these sections of the population resulted when they saw that the government was restricting exports to the newly occupied territories of Northern and Central China as well as to Manchuria because exports to these territories were not bringing in a single ounce of gold. Their dissatisfaction with the policy of militarist monopoly capital has grown considerably and they are longing for a quick end to the war, even at the cost of certain concessions to China, provided that Japan can save her face. Their representatives such as Saito (who belongs to the Minsei-to) and others fought a courageous battle at the last session of Parliament against the general mobilization act. In their struggle against war and against the military fascists they represent the interests of the people.

THE SOLDIERS

War enthusiasm is waning at the front no less than in the rear. In a letter written by a soldier in June, 1938, we read:

"There is a great difference between the feeling among the soldiers today and the feeling at the time of the Russo-Japanese war. When for instance visitors try to console the wounded soldiers in hospitals by expressing their thanks for the glorious services rendered to the country, the answer is not pride and pleasure but contempt. The soldiers say that they are very pleased to be in hospitals and not at the front. . . ."

In many cases young men "disappear" in order to escape the call to colors or else they desert before their unit leaves barracks for the front. Many such young men were arrested and killed. Members of their families were also arrested.

Reports come in in great numbers about mass desertion, mutinies, fraternization at the front with the enemy. Even if one reads the reports and news in the Japanese press only one can find out something about the spirit of the soldiers in the firing line. The looting and acts of violence committed by Japanese soldiers in Nanking show the deterioration of discipline in the Japanese army. Two divisions have been withdrawn "by reason of fatigue" and sent back to Japan or Korea. One of the main reasons why General Matsui was relieved of his command was that he was unable to maintain army discipline.

Visitors returning from the front say that the soldiers are reluctant to speak about their battles. They want to hear the news about the position at home, in their village, about the harvest, etc. They express violent indignation at the war profiteers and the greedy landlords. They do not know what they are fighting for and do not believe in an ultimate victory. They worry about what is to happen after the army is demobilized. The fighting spirit of the soldiers is on a low level, especially that of the older men, who are very discouraged. Many soldiers "lose their way" on the march to the front or during a battle, in order to escape both the battle and severe punishment. It is reported that in the northern territories occupied by Japan there are many special camps destined to harbor such soldiers.

We must be careful not to overestimate the anti-war feeling existing among the people. The illusions of the people about the war are not yet completely destroyed, because the people are kept in ignorance of the true position at the front and the economic difficulties at home. The fear of the consequences of defeat favors the militarist propaganda for "holding out to the end," even though the people are longing for a speedy peace. Nor should we overlook the fact that dissatisfaction and anti-war feeling are not the same in all sections of the population, that up to now it has not been possible to permeate the whole people with joint concrete demands and activities, that the struggle of the people is generally limited to the economic sphere and that the revolutionary struggle against the war is to a great extent left to the heroic fighters of the Communist Party.

We are not now faced with a series of revolutionary anti-war demonstrations as we were in 1932. Yet this does not mean that the masses are more chauvinistic and reactionary today than they were six years ago. The present feeling among the people has one important characteristic: not only a small revolutionary vanguard, not only the workers and peasants, but the masses of the people including part of the bourgeoisie are moving steadily towards a struggle against the war and against the militarists. If the present situation in the country and at the front lasts another few months, it may develop rapidly and will develop inevitably into a political crisis.

Hence all efforts of the Japanese Communists are directed towards getting the whole of the people, suffering from the effects of the war, to unite in the struggle against the military fascists and for peace. In the factories, in the villages, in the schools, in the barracks and at the front, everywhere the Communists are trying to win the people for the demand that the war must be ended immediately and unconditionally. Only a quick termination of the war and the fall of the military fascists can preserve the Japanese nation from a fearful breakdown.

China's Struggle for Freedom *

BY MAO TSE-TUNG

Question: What is the significance of, and the role played by, the Special Administrative District at the present time?

Answer: It is only when one understands the character of the Special District that one can evaluate its significance and role in relation to China as a whole. Above all, the Special District is a basis for democracy and the struggle against the Japanese aggressors.

The entire population of the Special District—workers, peasants, merchants, students, intellectuals, women, young people, religious people—have their organizations and enjoy freedom of speech, press and assembly, under the one condition that their activities are not contrary to the principles of the struggle against Japanese aggression. The Communist Party of China and the government of the Special District accord active support and aid to the mass organizations.

The Special District is now becoming an area adjacent to the front. Sections of the Eighth Revolutionary People's Army and of the local armed detachments are concentrated here.

In these detachments and in the army the most democratic spirit rules the relations between commanders and soldiers and between the army and the civilian population. Officers and men, army and people, are all closely united. This is a guarantee of the victory of the Chinese people in the war against Japan.

The economy of the Special District is developing in the spirit of democracy and in the interests of the war of defense. Education also is based on democratic principles and the war against Japan. The cooperative movement is being developed; in the agricultural areas, all attention is concentrated on securing improved standards of living for the peasants, and mobilizing the masses for resistance to Japan. Instead of the old taxes and levies, one single graduated tax has been introduced.

But the most important point is that the governing bodies of the Special District are elected by the people itself. This is ample proof of the complete lack of basis for allegations of the "impossibility of realization of a democratic electoral system because of the cultural backwardness of the Chinese workers and peasants." It is possible for anyone to ascertain that the results of the elections carried out in the Special Districts have been by no means unsatisfactory. The people elected workers to the governing bodies, who have become experienced in their work and who execute it much better than did the appointees.

From this angle the mobilization of the people for participation in armed resistance to Japan has had fine results. The right to vote and to stand for election is possessed by all workers, peasants, women, intellectuals, students, merchants and members of the well-to-do sections of society, provided they have already reached their eighteenth year and are in favor of resistance to Japanese aggression.

Wherever the two questions—that of

* An interview with Comrade Mao Tse-tung by a group of delegates of the International Student Union, in Yenan, July 2, 1938.

democracy and that of armed resistance to Japan—have been closely bound together, we have been able to show positive results. In a political system of this kind, every citizen may develop his faculties in any calling and in any preferred activity; every capable person, in fact, has opportunity for the development of his abilities. Therein lies the distinguishing characteristic of the Special District.

A democratic system of this nature should be extended to all China. Everywhere, the armed struggle against Japan should be linked up with the introduction of democracy. Only the realization of a broad democracy can lead to victory in the struggle with Japan. When freedom of speech, the press, organization and assembly is vested in the people; when soldiers and commanders, army and people are closely knit together; when education throughout the country is carried on in the spirit of democracy; when the mobilization of all popular forces for economic construction is carried out in relation to the improvement in the people's living standards; and when all this is directed towards one immediate aim: the securing of victory in armed resistance to Japanese aggression—when this takes place, then one can say that the point of China's decisive victory over Japan has been reached.

The task of the Special District consists in making it manifest to the entire Chinese people that resistance to Japan can be successful and the homeland saved only through a democratic system of this kind. In order for a system like this to be realized throughout all China, it is necessary that the people understand it and appreciate its correctness.

For this reason we welcome representatives of various parties and tendencies, as well as those belonging to no party, who may visit the Special District in order to acquaint themselves with its system of democratic government. Many people have visited us, particularly students. The majority of them have approved the democratic regime of our Special District, about which we are justifiably proud. The Special District is part of China, and is subordinate to the Central government, as are the other provinces of China.

There are two incorrect viewpoints regarding the Special District. They are as follows. Certain conservative elements claim that "there are no positive advantages whatever" in the Special District. On the other hand, there are others who aver that "the Special District is a kind of paradise, with no defects whatever."

It is correct to state that a democratic system has been introduced in the Special District, and that the entire population is permeated with a fighting, anti-Japanese spirit. Such is the positive side of the Special District, well worthy of serving as model for all China.

On the other hand, various difficulties exist, for instance, in the economic sphere. In various industrial fields a considerable improvement is necessary; one cannot at present claim that everything is satisfactory. For this reason, we welcome all criticism from the outside which will support our endeavors to overcome these difficulties.

We thank you for your visit to Yenan. We welcome your criticism and request that you mention any shortcomings in our work, so that we may remove them, in the interests of our great cause: our armed resistance to Japanese aggression, and the salvation of our homes.

Question: What are the tasks which at present confront the Communist Party throughout China?

Answer: The chief line of the Communist Party of China in the present phase of the situation is as follows: to continue resolute armed resistance; to strengthen the national anti-Japanese united front; and to carry on a protracted war. Such is their task and their work in all China.

What is meant by "resolute armed resistance"? We stand for resolute armed resistance which will be maintained to the end, and is against any compromise with the enemy. Together with the Kuomintang and the other parties and ten-

dencies, together with the entire Chinese people, we want to carry on armed resistance, determinedly and steadfastly, until the Japanese have been driven over the Yalu River, which forms the boundary between Korea and Manchuria.

What is meant by the "strengthening of the national anti-Japanese united front"? It means the consistent, complete unity of the whole country. Only when such unity has been ensured can resolute armed resistance be offered. Not merely an alliance of parties and tendencies is needed, but an alliance of all sections of the population in their respective organizations. Only when their activities on behalf of armed resistance have been strengthened can the national anti-Japanese united front become a reality.

What does to "carry on a protracted war" mean? There are two incorrect viewpoints in connection with this question. Some say that China cannot carry on a long war, and must therefore go under. Others say that the Chinese army will rapidly defeat the Japanese invaders, and that it is therefore not necessary to prepare for a protracted war.

We consider both these points of view to be incorrect. China will not lose. The Japanese, although they are the stronger from the military point of view, do not possess sufficient reserves to carry on a protracted war. Besides this, in Japan itself numerous contradictions are arising, as concerns both home and foreign affairs. China—which is a weak country in comparison with Japan—has nevertheless many more advantageous circumstances, both at home and abroad. Even if, in the earlier period of the war, China has lost some territory, it can continue the war and secure a victory. However, it would be difficult to secure this victory within a short period. Although in China there exist all the prerequisites for victory, they are not yet wholly utilized.

In spite of the progress in China, in spite of the international aid which is given us, and in spite of Japan's growing economic and financial difficulties, China is not in a position to win the war rapidly. Therefore we must make our preparations for carrying on a protracted war, not reckoning on a speedy victory.

Our policy therefore must consist of the following:

1. Resolute armed resistance.
2. Strengthening of the national anti-Japanese united front.
3. The conduct of a protracted war.

Question: Do there exist in China conditions permitting a shortening of the duration of this protracted war?

Answer: For a shortening of the duration of the war there must be a further strengthening and extension of the national anti-Japanese united front—this is the basic condition. The realization of the united front would enable us to develop our work more powerfully in all its aspects; and the greater the progress in our work, the sooner will the war be brought to an end.

A further condition is an increase in solidarity between the Japanese and Chinese peoples. At present this solidarity is manifested in various forms. For example, soldiers of the Japanese army refuse to fight. There are cases of suicide, as a protest against the war with China; there are desertions to the Chinese forces; anti-war leaflets are distributed among the Japanese. The anti-war feeling is growing among the Japanese people. The stronger the manifestations of solidarity with China on the part of the Japanese people and army, the shorter will be the duration of the war.

Furthermore, international aid for China is necessary. We need the support of the peoples and the governments of all countries, the support of the youth and the students of the whole world. The more rapidly and substantially this help is forthcoming, the sooner will the war's end appear.

These three conditions are all closely linked up. The more rapidly democratic progress is attained in China, and her internal unity secured, the stronger will be the solidarity of the Japanese people, and the more swiftly will international aid be forthcoming. And all this will

again, in its turn, contribute towards the development of the anti-Japanese forces in China. If China is enabled to deal severe blows at Japanese imperialism, this aids the Japanese people in their struggle for freedom, and also it aids all peoples of the world in their struggle against their common enemy, the fascist aggressor. The task of the Communist Party, of all anti-fascist parties and of the entire Chinese people, as well as of all progressive parties and organizations of the Japanese people and of the peoples of all countries, is to contribute towards the furtherance of those three conditions, which will make for a shortening of the duration of the war.

Question: What will be the chief task of the Communist Party of China after the victorious termination of the war of defense?

Answer: The chief task of the Communist Party, after the victorious ending of the war of defense, will consist in the establishment of a free, independent, democratic republic. A centralized democratic government and parliament will be established in China which will represent the will of the whole people; and a national constitution which will express the interests of the people. All nations inhabiting China will be guaranteed equal rights, and the alliance of all the peoples of China will be based on this principle.

Industry, agriculture and commerce will develop rapidly. The people and the state will work together on the task of economic construction; the eight-hour day will be introduced everywhere; the peasants will be given land; a graduated tax will be introduced; both peace treaties and trade agreements will be concluded with other countries, and agreements for mutual assistance.

The people will be invested with the rights of freedom of speech, assembly, organization and worship. Every citizen will have the opportunity of self-development; the general cultural level of the people will be raised; science will advance; illiteracy will be eradicated. The most friendly relations will exist between the army and the people.

Such a country, such a government, could not yet be called socialist or Soviet. China would be a consistently democratic country, in which the principle of private property would exist. It would represent emancipation from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state.

We need a state like this. The Communist Party of China will fight, side by side with other parties and with the whole people, for the establishment of a state which will represent the desires and demands of all the peoples of China; for the establishment of the kind of state for which Sun Yat-sen also fought.

The work towards the building up of such a state began as part of the war of national defense. Of course, a number of important measures can be operated only after the victorious termination of the war, such as measures for economic development, and so on. But in the very process of the war of national defense the prerequisite conditions for the erection of this state must be established. The chief condition for all this is the eviction of the Japanese imperialists from China. This is not only the task of the Communist Party, of the Kuomintang and other anti-Japanese parties, but is the historical mission of the entire Chinese people.

Question: What is the chief task of the Chinese youth and students during the war of defense? What is the chief task of the youth and the students of the world, in the movement to aid China?

Answer: The youth of China has two tasks. The first is a general one: the resolute continuation of armed resistance, the strengthening of the national anti-Japanese united front, and preparations for a protracted war in order to drive out the Japanese imperialists and establish in China a free, independent, democratic republic. As regards this first task, there is no distinction between the youth and the whole people.

But the second task is one specially for the youth, and consists in a struggle for the specific interests of young people. These interests include: educational reforms, improvement in teaching and so on; the right to participate

in the movement for the salvation of the homeland; the creation of a student organization for the salvation of the country, and other youth organizations; to see that young people above eighteen secure the right to vote and to stand for election to public bodies; that needy students receive free education, and so on.

As concerns the chief tasks of the youth of other countries in the movement for aid to China during the period of the war for national defense, I think that the chief thing is for the majority of the youth and the students—with the aid of the International Student Union—to recognize the necessity of supporting China and of unitedly coming out against Japan. They must realize that their own interests are closely bound up with this work to aid China in its fight against Japan and for indivisible peace. The fascist aggressors are the enemies of world peace. The students must help to make it clear to the peoples of all countries that it is necessary to support China in its struggle against the Japanese imperialists. The practical measures of aid can consist in spoken and written propaganda, in appeals to governments and peoples, for material support for China, to boycott Japanese goods and hinder the export of goods to Japan. They can even proceed to the formation and training of international volunteers' brigades to participate in China's war of defense.

You have visited China as representatives of a great international student organization and have expressed very great solidarity with us. All the peoples of China thank you. I convey to you the greetings of the Communist Party and the peoples of China.

I trust that, upon your return, you will inform the students and the peoples of all countries of China's great war of defense against Japan. In close alliance with you, we shall fight for a free, independent China! For peace and happiness in the entire world!

WHICH WAY FOR AMERICA—PROGRESS OR REACTION?

THE PERIL OF FASCISM

The Crisis of American Democracy

BY A. B. MAGIL and HENRY STEVENS

320 Pages Price, $2.00

China Sends Messages to the People of Japan

EARLY on the morning of May 20, a group of Chinese airplanes flew over Nagasaki, Fukuo, Sasebo, and other towns of Southwest Japan, scattering large quantities of leaflets. The flight lasted six hours. All the planes got back to their base in safety, although they were fired on by the anti-aircraft guns of Japanese warships on the return journey. By this flight, the Chinese air force has demonstrated that it is quite capable of reaching Japan. They dropped leaflets, not bombs, because the enemy of the Chinese people is not the Japanese people, but the Japanse group of fascist militarists, who have not lagged behind their European accomplices in brutally destroying peaceful towns and villages.

In these leaflets, the text of which is published below, the people of China tell the people of Japan the truth about the war which Japanese imperialism is waging in China.

To the workers of Japan:

Workers of Japan! Brothers! We want to tell you of some words spoken, by a soldier, with tears in his eyes, a worker, a member of one of your organizations:

"We used often to talk things over in our regiment," he said. "We realized that war brought nothing but suffering, and that its injustice poisoned mankind."

He added that the soldiers knew this and wept. They were no children—they understood a good deal. If we recall the events of February 26, things become clearer. At the head of the revolt were people who wanted fame at any price.* The soldiers at the front are anxious and afraid. They can hardly wait to be sent home.

Workers! Everything we have told you is true. This soldier, a prisoner, a worker, wept when he looked at a photograph of his family. He wept also because he was hungry; at the front he had been unable to get enough to eat. We wept with him, in our indignation at the Japanese militarist gang. What good can this war do to the people of Japan? Ten billion yen have been spent on the war—this means hunger and hardship for you. Blood will flow freely. You, the workers, are becoming slaves of your toil, which goes on night and day. You are becoming slaves because the fruits of your labors are bombs to kill men who are your brothers, and members of your own class.

Honest workers of Japan! We do not look upon you as enemies, but we know that the fascists of Japan will fight us to the last drop of their blood. What does this mean?

1. We must defend the existence of our nation and of our state. We are not going to be slaves.

2. If we are beaten, China and Japan will always be the scene of trouble. Our Japanese prisoners, who have until recently been at the front fighting against us, understand this especially well.

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* On February 26, 1936, there was a militarist-fascist putsch in Tokyo. A group of officers assassinated Okada, the Prime Minister, Takachasis, the Finance Minister, Admiral Saito, a former Prime Minister, Watanabe, Inspector-General of the military academy, and others. Leader of the revolt was Nonaka.

Your task is the liberation of the Japanese people. Now is the time to win freedom for the people of Japan. Workers, you are strong. The fate of the East lies in your hands. Rise up and destroy the Japanese military clique. Free the peoples of both countries from suffering. Come out on strike.

CHINESE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY.

To all peasants of Japan!

We are not enemies of the Japanese people. Japanese soldiers who are with us as prisoners of war have said, "In time of war, seed and harvest are trampled under foot and destroyed. That is the truth. Peasants know all too well how hard one has to work in the fields. War is a crime."

The war has taken labor away from your fields, and they have run to waste. Your silkworms have perished. How, with all your burdens, are you going to raise for the Japanese militarists the ten billion yen which have been spent on this war?

What is the aim of this war? On this matter the diaries of the Japanese who have fallen express various contradictory views. The Japanese militarists have promised a great deal. Actually, they have used Japanese peasants as cannon fodder, and have made them sacrifice their blood. The Japanese militarists want to turn the people of China into another nation of slaves. You have only to look at Manchuria and North China. You see an inferno, and the Japanese generals are trying to deceive everyone by calling that inferno "Paradise on Earth."

The Chinese peasants accepted the challenge, and stood as one man against the aggressor who came armed to the teeth. They left their fields and drew their swords. They understood perfectly the meaning of what was going on.

The peasants of China and of Japan are hungry. The peasants are being robbed of their freedom. Risk your lives! Rise up against the Japanese militarists and sweep them away! Remember those true words of our Japanese brothers, "Peasants know all too well how hard one has to work in the fields." Let us, the peoples of Japan and China, build together a new world in the Far East. Destroy the enemies of mankind, destroy the Japanese militarist gang, whose blood-stained hands are pushing the Japanese people to its doom!

CHINESE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

To the shopkeepers and craftsmen of Japan!

The military attack upon China which the Japanese General Staff spent years preparing has now been going on for ten months. The Japanese generals promised you a quick victory in China. The "short triumphant stroll" of the Japanese militarists has become a long drawn-out war. Incompetent militarists have pushed the Japanese people into war, and laid even greater burdens upon them. The generals and millionaires have used up the country's resources on this stroll of theirs. They have destroyed the Japanese people's livelihood.

What are you getting out of this war? You have toiled for years. Now the military gang is destroying everything you have achieved. They have destroyed the great Chinese market. Japan's trade agreements with India, Australia and Holland are as nothing. The European and American markets are being lost. The administration of the territory in China "occupied" by the Japanese warmongers entails enormous expenditure, and will cost many Japanese soldiers their lives. It is almost like trying to found the "Promised Land" beneath the waves of the Pacific Ocean. Those merchants who deal in war materials are speculating and getting rich quickly. The small and medium traders, the craftsmen and the domestic workers are the victims of the complete collapse.

We do not want war, but when the Japanese militarists threatened the existence of our state and the freedom of our nation, when all hope of peace was gone, we took up arms against the ene-

mies of our people. The Japanese fascists screamed, "China is going Bolshevik," but that was only a smokescreen to conceal their invasion. In this holy war of self-defense, unity of our nation was realized. Our army grew in numbers and efficiency. Our nation accepted the challenge of the Japanese militarists, and went bravely into the front line. We are determined to fight. Our people will sweep away anything which stands in its path.

The Japanese army has suffered severe losses, which it did not expect. But the war goes on, and its problems are becoming greater. Japan is treading blindly the path to ruin. All who truly love their country must force the Japanese military gang to stop. We do not look upon the Japanese people as our enemies; we feel no hatred towards them. Your hope lies in the establishment of close day-to-day economic relations with China. The Japanese warmongers must understand that we are not handing ourselves over to the mercy of the aggressors. Let us work for economic cooperation on a basis of peace. Rise against the aggressive war of the Japanese militarist group! Struggle for permanent peace in the Far East!

CHINESE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY

A GIFT BOOK OF SIGNIFICANCE

HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE U. S. S. R.

EDITED BY J. STALIN, M. GORKY, A. ZHDANOV, S. KIROV, V. MOLOTOV, K. VOROSHILOV

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Chronicle of Events

THE conspiracy of Munich was not only a plot against Czechoslovakia but also a plot against world peace, against democracy, against the international working class, against the Spanish republic and against the vital interests of small nations.

Chamberlain and Daladier, the reactionary cliques of the English and French upper classes, knew very well that it would have been very easy to force Hitler to draw back. But they knew also that a political defeat of Hitler would shake the very foundations of fascism and would have called into a being a mighty upsurge of the anti-fascist freedom movement. They therefore preferred, in order to save Hitler, to capitulate before a weaker opponent, to damage severely the prestige and influence of their own countries and to imperil most seriously the safety of their own peoples. The protection of their class interests was more important to them than the protection of the vital inerests of their own nations and of humanity as a whole.

It is becoming clearer and clearer to the nations that Munich was the result of a *scandalous secret and pre-arranged plot.* It was not for nothing that the Soviet Union was excluded from the decisive discussions. It was not for nothing that Chamberlain and Daladier worked behind the backs of the people, without consulting their parliaments, indeed without any clear agreement with the ministers of their own Cabinets. The mobilization swindle in England and France was intended, above all, to intimidate the masses by the horrible idea of imminent war, to transform with unexampled cynicism this betrayal, this surrender, into a "Salvation of Peace." It has already been proven that at the time of this "mobilization" actual capitulation had already taken place.

But the betrayal was even more monstrous. This has been made known publicly by a politician who ought to know. A member of the English government, Duff Cooper, First Lord of the Admiralty, who resigned his office in indignation at Chamberlain's policy of betrayal, made a really sensational disclosure in the House of Commons on October 3. He declared:

"We knew that information to the opposite effect was being poured into the ears of the head of the German state. He [Hitler] had been assured, reassured and fortified in the opinion that in no case would Great Britain fight."

One must realize the full monstrosity of that which Cooper announced in dry terms. Chamberlain has not dared to refute Cooper's weighty accusation and by this has given perfect proof of its truth. It is also proved that Chamberlain had declared to Hitler from the very beginning that England would not fight. Under such conditions it is very understandable why Hitler, who also evaluated Daladier at his correct worth and even had accomplices in the Czech government, did not restrict himself.

In order to make the Munich crime appear in a milder light and, above all, to weaken the impression caused by the contrast between the firm attitude of the Soviet Union and the treason of the bourgeois governments, the guilty parties spread the impudent lie that "the Soviet Union had wavered also" and that the Soviet Union had secretly "taken part in the Munich arrangement." This shameless attempt has not been success-

ful. Documents and facts alike witness undeniably the *Soviet Union's unshakable loyalty to peace and her treaties*, her exemplary, firm attitude during the whole conflict. Czech ministers such as Derer, Vavretschka and even the reactionary Agrarian leader, Beran, a well-known opponent of the Soviet Union, had to admit this publicly. And, finally, there exists an English official document, in which it is declared that the Soviet Union would have kept faith with its treaty.

The results of Munich are already catastrophic. The Munich conspiracy, like all previous concessions, has only increased the greed and aggressiveness of German fascism. Germany has already seized more districts of Czechoslovakia than had been agreed upon. Its Polish and Hungarian neighbors at the feast tear pieces from the bloody carcass of Czechoslovakia and their demands, too, rise from day to day.

Hitler is already treating the remnant of Czechoslovakia as his vassal. He dictated Benes' resignation and also the formation of reactionary governments in Prague, in Slovakia and in Carpathian Ukraine. At his command, the Communist Party, the most loyal defender of the freedom and independence of the Czechoslovak people, was outlawed. At his request, the "simplification of parties," that is, fascist uniformity (*Gleichschaltung*) was announced. He determines the new foreign policy of inclusion in the war axis.

Fascist Germany is not satisfied only with the handing over, without a struggle, of Czechoslovakia with its natural riches, its industrial strength, its armament industries and France's second Maginot Line (with all the secrets of the first). The shaking of the prestige of France and England and the destruction of the French system of pacts have made Germany master in Central Europe and made it possible for Germany to take up the struggle for world dominion. German fascism is already demanding the sacrifice of Spain and the partition of Lithuania. It threatens with more directness than before all the small states in Europe. It begins wth the "economic conquest" of Southeast Europe and demands a "free hand against the Soviet Union."

The ink on the scandalous Munich Agreement and the "Declaration of Friendship" between England and Germany was not dry before Hitler directed new threats and demands to England and France. In his speech in Saarbrucken he declared that a government under Churchill or Eden would mean war, that only a rule of the "strong hand" in England and France would ensure a "real peace." Hitler has not yet directly required the cession of Alsace-Lorraine. But his agents there have already begun assiduously to prepare the way for this demand. Against this, Germany has already placed on the timetable the demand for the return of her earlier colonies. Together with Germany, fascist Italy is making her demands.

The recognition of the conquest of Ethiopia, yesterday still a wished-for goal, is today, after its fulfillment, treated as but a bagatelle. Today, Italy demands recognition of sovereignty over the Balearic Islands, the sacrifice of Spain and the domination of the Mediterranean, the immediate operation of the pact with England. In his many articles, the Italian fascist Gayda who speaks for Mussolini threatens France openly with war.

How seriously the German demand for colonies is taken is shown, among other things, by the general movement of protest in the former German colonies, for example, in Southwest Africa, against a return of the colonies to Germany.

Even in the fascist camp there appear contradictions which are unavoidable when robbers come to divide their booty. There is friction between Germany and Italy on the problem of Slovakia and the Ukraine. Italy supports the plans of Poland and Hungary which aim at a division of this territory and the establishment of a common frontier while Germany seeks to retain Slovakia and Carpathian Ukraine as autonomous states under its direct patronage. Goer-

ing's paper the *Nationalzeitung* of Essen has most scornfully rejected Hungary's claims and has very clearly pointed out to the champions of "greater Hungary" that Hitlerite Germany regards itself as lord of the spoils while the other members of the robber band must be satisfied with smaller pieces.

At the same time, the agents of German fascism increase their agitation in the German and Ukrainian districts of their Polish "ally" in order to undermine its claims and make it conscious of the fact that Poland is also a "Mosaic state," nationally speaking. Poland's efforts to secure Rumania for the Italian-Polish-Hungarian plans have been destroyed in advance, for Rumania finds any increase of Hungary's strength dangerous. Italy is disquieted by Germany's "drive to the Southeast." The "friends" of Hitler and Mussolini fortify their opposing frontiers. Naturally that does not mean that a collapse of the war axis is likely in the near future. On the contrary, the aggressors seek to bind their war alliance closer in order to undertake new advances.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the Munich "salvation of peace" has led, in all countries, to a *feverish increase of armaments.*

On October 3, Chamberlain, justifying his policy, in his speech in the House of Commons said:

"Let no one think that because we have signed this agreement between these four Powers at Munich we can afford to relax our efforts in regard to that program at this moment."

On the other hand, Hitler declared in his speech at Saarbrucken:

"I am determined to carry on the work of fortification with increased energy and I am going to extend them to two districts which as yet have not been affected, the district around Aix and Saarbrucken."

In France a triple strengthening of the Maginot Line is announced. Preliminary loans to the extent of 1,420,000,000 francs for the army and 887,000,000 francs for the navy have already been decided on as "first measures." A great campaign for the extension of the air force is being carried on. This campaign (in which the Socialist Blum is active) fulfills at the same time the purpose of setting down the surrender at Munich as a necessary consequence of military weakness, especially in air force deficiences.

In this respect, too, Daladier's game has been disclosed. The French trade union leader Jouhaux reports a conversation in which Daladier produced a report of General Gamelin referring to military unpreparedness. But at the same time it seems that Daladier tried to conceal Gamelin's conclusions. Gamelin was firmly in favor of using the army if it were necessary for the defense of Czechoslovakia. This attitude of the army leaders was attested by the Right-wing politician, Kerillis. But the public was told that the report of the General Staff made capitulation unavoidable.

A further result of Munich is the strengthening of the reactionaries in capitalist countries. A ruthless *offensive against the workers* and against all wage earners has begun. The reactionary bourgeoisie are attempting to place the costs of armaments and the devastating economic results of the events in Central Europe on the workers and enforce payment of the price of Munich on the working class. The English government is planning an attack on the traditional rights and liberties of the people. In France the government, without consulting parliament, abrogated to itself powers to levy new taxes, robbery of civil employees, deterioration of social services and limitation of workers' rights in factories. The first blow against the forty-hour week has already been struck. The fascist betrayers of their country are openly arming for civil war and the government allows the Cagoulards, who are in Hitler's pay, to prepare their attack against democracy. In order to carry out these plans the ruling class seeks to destroy the People's Front

which is the chief obstacle in their way, and to isolate the Communists.

In the Second International recent experiences have led to the sharpest contradictions and clashes. There are leaders there, for example Blum and Faure, who celebrated the betrayal of Munich as a "Salvation of Peace." The disunity and defeatism of the reactionary leaders of the Second International, their sabotage against the united and people's fronts made possible the Munich conspiracy. Opposition of class-conscious Social-Democrats to this criminal attitude of the Second International is growing. In Switzerland, in Sweden, Norway and, to some extent, in Holland Social-Democrat newspapers openly condemn the Blum policy and the indecision of the English Labor Party. At a meeting of the French party executive there was a sharp conflict between Zyromski, on the one side, and Blum and Faure on the other.

This same conflict appeared in the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth International where the French delegate Chochoy defended the policy of capitulation to Hitler while a Spanish delegate, among others, attacked this most strongly. Friedrich Adler tried to mediate as representative of the Labor and Socialist International. In the L.S.I. official resolution it was established that Munich had worsened the international situation and increased the danger of war, but there were no suggestions for a solution or the necessity of the unity of the proletariat.

The Communist Parties emphasized, from the beginning, that the threat to Czechoslovakia was a threat to democracy and world peace. The Communist Parties called for a common struggle of all forces of democracy and peace, for the protection of Czechoslovakia, and demanded the calling of an International Workers' Conference. As early as September 13, in a manifesto of the Central Committee of the British Communist Party, it was declared that:

"The labor movement must put itself at the head of a great movement of the British people to put an end to the pro-fascist activity of Chamberlain and Runciman and to compel the British government to stand without any reservations alongside France and the Soviet Union for the defense of Czechoslovakia and world peace."

On September 20, the Communist Party of France declared in a manifesto:

"The safety of France and of peace is imperilled by this policy. . . . Frenchmen! Workers! Democrats! Communists! Socialists! Radicals! Trade Unionists! Let us unite to save France from the shame of slavery and to protect her freedom and independence"

In a joint manifesto of the Communist Parties of France, England, Germany and Czechoslovakia, on September 29, it says:

"The fate of Europe depends on the fate of Czechoslovakia. To save peace means to save Czechoslovakia. People of France, England and Germany, let us struggle together on the side of the Czechoslovak people to prevent war and to save the peace of the world!"

In a manifesto of eleven Communist Parties, it was stated that:

"On September 30, at Munich, a crime against world peace was begun . . . and now those who surrendered at Munich want to hand over Spain to fascism. . . ."

The manifesto calls on all workers to form an international proletarian united front and to demand that the leaders of the Second International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions call an international conference against fascism and war. All supporters of freedom and peace are called on to save Spain and to fight together for democracy, peace and social progress.

But, simultaneously with the perils of Munich, grow also the defense forces. Disillusionment grows more general. Opposition to the policy which led to Munich grows everywhere. The opposition, led by Churchill, Eden, Cooper and others in the ranks of the English Conservatives, grows sharper than before and obviously gains support. In France,

too, a politician so far to the Right as Kerillis himself issues warnings of the fatal consequences of the present policy of surrender. In the Debate in the Chamber on Foreign Affairs on October 4 he declared among other things:

"The 'peace' of Munich is a shameful 'peace'! Many say that this shameful peace is more use to us than a lost war. But everything testifies to the fact that Germany was in no state to wage war and we have let Hitler win the sham fight. All our retreats have drawn new demands after them and every time we showed our face, Hitler drew back. That is what I say and repeat. Under such circumstances, nothing is more objectionable than the accusation by Frenchmen directed at other Frenchmen that they desired war. I did not want war, but I was persuaded that it was possible that war would break out!"

At this point Flandin demanded that Kerillis should not be allowed to speak any longer because he had exceeded his time. But President Herriot overruled the objection and Kerillis spoke on and closed with the following words:

"When the nation observes in the light of events that it has been betrayed, then its awakening is fearful. Then is the moment of social revolution. Recollect the Paris of the people in 1830 and 1848 and how the Commune of 1871 raised a party from within that would not accept the surrender to the Prussians. Those who accuse me of receiving I-don't-know-what suggestions from Moscow may remind themselves of this revolution of national pride. If there are any who want to achieve unity of Frenchmen for the weal of France, I am with them, whether they are of the Right, the Center or the Left, in trying to make France strong again."

The English Liberals published a manifesto in which they declared themselves ready to work together with all other parties that wished to fight for peace and against reaction, in order to overthrow the government which had sacrificed the country's interests and to set up a government to resist the aggressors. The press of the small countries condemns the Munich policy more and more emphatically. But, above all, the mass of the working people has been shaken by these events. There are countless demonstrations of indignation at the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia, the imperilling of peace and the safety of all peoples in all countries. Everywhere, the bourgeois offensive runs up against resistance. This is shown especially at the attempts of the French bourgeoisie to destroy the People's Front. The leading circles of the Radical Party, which belongs to the People's Front, have taken up an attitude of opposition to the People's Front and are trying to set up a new, reactionary group.

But the masses of the People's Front think otherwise. Not only in Paris but in every part of the country People's Front Committees are passing resolutions in which unconditional adherence to the People's Front is demanded. The General Confederation of Labor has taken up the struggle in opposition to Daladier's plans not only in defense of what has already been gained but also for the realization of demands which have not yet been fulfilled.

* * *

The battlefronts of the Spanish and Chinese people are making a heroic resistance to fascist invasion. The Spanish army of freedom has become strong and confident of victory. All the attempts of Hitler and Mussolini and their tool, Franco, have only been able to reverse the result of the republican victory on the Ebro front with tremendous losses. Moreover, the crimes of the Trotskyite agents of fascism which have been given the widest publicity by the trial of the leaders of P.O.U.M., their espionage, their armed risings, their treachery at the front, have not made it possible for the fascists to break the heroic resistance of republican Spain.

Negrin's last speech expressed the determination of the Spanish people to hold out, and their confidence of victory. In order to remove any doubt as to the clearly national character of the strug-

gle against the interventionists the Spanish people's government has decided to send back the international volunteers, those brave volunteers, whose heroic deeds will remain unforgettable and which offer a splendid proof of international solidarity.

But this must not blind us to the perils which at this moment directly threaten the freedom of the Spanish people, world peace and world democracy. The Four-Power group seeks to betray Spain just as it did Czechoslovakia. Franco's clumsy farce of sending back 10,000 invalids, incapable of fighting, while at the same time the invasion by Italy and Germany is being strengthened, serves only to mask the plans for destroying Spain. In addition there is the danger of starvation which faces the Spanish people who have for so long borne the severest hardships. The greatest possible efforts are necessary on the part of all people in order to provide the Spanish people with food, to support their struggle and to see to it that the fascist intervention troops leave the country to allow Spain to settle her own destiny.

For the Chinese people, too, a most serious situation has arisen by the fall of Canton and Hankow. The Japanese attack on Canton, which gravely imperiled British interests, is in part the result of Chamberlain's policy. The fall of Canton, in spite of the heroic resistace of the Chinese, was brought about by Chinese traitors who fear that the unity of the Chinese people is dangerous to the interests of the Chinese ruling classes.

The fall of Hankow was different. Six months ago the Japanese announced the capture of Hankow as inevitable. The heroic Chinese resistance, in spite of the enemy's enormous superiority in modern weapons, was able to hold out against the Japanese attack for a long time. Recently the Chinese troops showed how great are their powers of resistance by a victory in which 200,000 Japanese were destroyed. If the Chinese people learn how to protect and improve the source of their strength—unity—then they will gain ultimate victory.

* * *

The effect of the Munich events on the mood of the masses is again clearly reflected in the results of the municipal elections in Belgium. Hitler's triumph has in no way led to a strengthening of his Belgian admirers and agents, the Rexists, but, on the contrary, to a heavy defeat of this fascist group at the elections. Against this the Communists can show remarkable successes and in those municipalities where Socialist and Communist candidates were united, they won the majority.

* * *

Palestine has been in a state of upheaval for weeks. Even the English papers had to admit that the English authority only extends to Jerusalem and a few other towns. A Pan-Arab Palestine Congress completely refused to consider the division of Palestine into Arab and Jewish districts. Events show beyond doubt that the agents in Palestine of German and Italian fascism are carrying on agitation in order to force the Arab fight for freedom into a chauvinistic racial struggle against the Jewish people, and that fascism may exploit it in its own imperialist way.

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